

JUNE 29, 1987

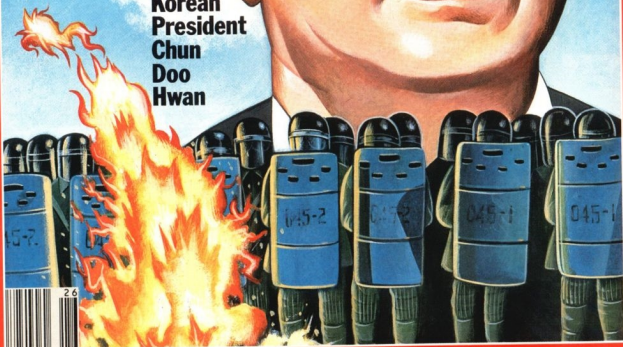
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TIME

TENNIS
A Pair of
Aces

KOREA'S CRISIS

South
Korean
President
Chun
Doo
Hwan



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COVER: Strife-torn South Korea faces a crisis of Olympic proportions

In more than a dozen cities, students erupt in a frenzy of defiance against the six-year rule of President Chun Doo Hwan. But even though middle-class housewives and businessmen have joined the protests for the first time, the political opposition remains weak and divided. Despite the violence, the 1988 Summer Games are set to go on as planned—and splendidly. See **WORLD**.

20



NATION: A Manhattan jury says "not guilty" to Subway Gunman Goetz

The acquittal raises questions about an individual's right to self-defense, about street crime and racism. ▶ The President prepares for battle as Congress moves toward a tax increase. ▶ A retired CIA director stops by KGB headquarters on a trip to Moscow. ▶ Once again Oliver North refuses to testify. ▶ The Administration is accused of using the Saudis to fund Angolan rebels.

10



SPORT: From West Germany to Wimbledon comes a smashing pair of aces

The championship torches are passing to Teenagers Boris Becker, 19, and Steffi Graf, 18, old practice partners from neighboring towns near Heidelberg. He is the two-time Wimbledon champion going for three in a row. She is the coming heir to Chris Evert and Martina Navratilova, lately vincible at 30 but still unbeaten in five straight Wimbledon.

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34 World

U.S. concerns hamper a Central American peace plan. ▶ An interview with Costa Rica's President Arias. ▶ Another Beirut kidnapping.

64 Show Business

After one last glorious, hammy program, Garrison Keillor shuts down his unique, beloved radio show, *A Prairie Home Companion*.

42 Economy & Business

Americans are flocking back to Europe. ▶ Citicorp, Ford and ITT join the exodus from South Africa. ▶ The Toshiba scandal grows.

66 Cinema

Stanley Kubrick's first film in seven years, *Full Metal Jacket*, is a Viet Nam horror show with a dynamite first act and a fizzle finale.

52 Medicine

Researchers struggle to find the cause of the mysterious, strength-sapping "fatigue syndrome." ▶ Drugs and diet shrink fat deposits.

67 Video

Ratings have fallen off and music videos are no longer hot, but cable's MTV is trying to prove there's still life in the format.

57 Religion

Presbyterians pass a landmark statement on Judaism. ▶ Baptist Fundamentalists win again. ▶ A federal court okays shunning.

72 Essay

A commencement speech delivered to an audience of one. A father gives his daughter several idiosyncratic wishes.

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Cover: Illustration by Joo Chung

Once again, we've been
placed on a pedestal.



"Making it to the top is generally much easier than staying at the top once you have made it. Unless you are Honda..."

Motor Trend.

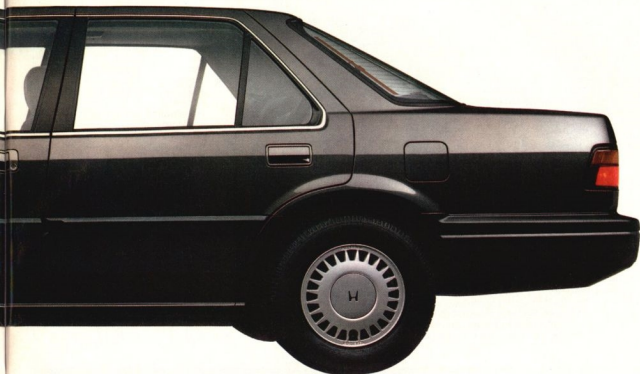
"Hope doesn't burn brighter than it does for the unveiling of an all-new Accord. Honda Accords are great automobiles, and everybody knows it."

Car and Driver.

"It's improved in just about every way, objectively as well as subjectively." *Road & Track.*

"With the new Accord, and the LXi in particular, Honda has solidified its position among the world's truly fine sports sedans." *Motor Trend.*

"There is a solid, jiggle-free feeling from the new suspension. It makes the Honda Accords



feel almost exactly like Audi's 18-inch longer top line 5000. The ride approaches that of Mercedes 190, which features a much more complex five-link rear suspension." *Autoweek.*

"The engine seems to hum even more sweetly than before. Cruising is hushed. The steering is deliciously accurate. And the shifter carves to perfection." *Car and Driver.*

"Cruising the high-banked oval at the Accord's top speed, passengers in the front and rear carried on hushed conversation in a dead-flat acoustic environment. Wind noise was minimal and road noise was dampened effectively." *Motor Trend.*

"Que será, será." *Anonymous Accord LXi owner.* **HONDA**

A Letter from the Publisher

Since Henry Ford Sr., Will Rogers and Heywood Campbell Broun appeared in its inaugural pages in the May 16, 1927, issue of *TIME*, the People section has consistently been one of the magazine's best-read features. "Celebrities are both role models and instant icons," says Staff Writer Guy D. Garcia, who has written the People page since 1983. "When it comes to the glitterati, I guess folks haven't changed much." As many readers will have noticed, People has a lively new look these days. The section now features a special "strip," designed by Assistant Art Director Billy Powers, to spotlight the most colorful event or personalities of the week.

Witness this issue's special People coverage of the charity knock-out just held by Britain's royal family, in which the Windsor children displayed a decidedly unstately yen for slapstick. As is often the case, eye-catching photography was crucial to the choice of the subject. "The strength of a picture will often make or break an item," says Picture Researcher MaryAnne Golon. "We want the usual suspects doing unusual things."

For Garcia and Reporter-Researcher David Thigpen, the People beat provides unusual private glimpses of the most public figures. Thigpen has interviewed a disparate constellation of



TIME's People people: Powers, Garcia, Golon and Thigpen

celebrities, from ex-President Jimmy Carter ("He was a lot shorter than I expected") to Basketball Great Julius Erving ("He wasn't"). Garcia's favorites have included Actress Daryl Hannah ("very sweet and unpretentious") and Singer-Songwriter Sting ("amazingly thoughtful for a rock star").

Mostly, though, the job entails just plain hard work. Each week Garcia, Golon, Thigpen receive a flood of invitations to celebrity-packed events, most of which they are forced to skip in order to meet their deadlines. Beginning early in the week, the trio pores over story suggestions from *TIME*'s foreign

and domestic bureaus, as well as stacks of newspapers and publications, picking out the dozen or so timeliest and most colorful items. Says Writer Garcia: "At this point, we pretty much know a People item when we see one. Generally, it's going to be a snappy story about a prominent person, something that's informative but with a light touch and maybe a little bit of irony." So far, that approach has withstood the test of time, and our guess is that it will continue to do so.

Robert L. Miller

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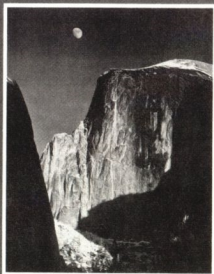
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Why should men and women pay different rates for their life and health insurance?

These days, most married couples know that adequate life and health insurance for both parties is the foundation for sound financial planning.

What they might not know is why men and women often pay different rates for equivalent coverage.

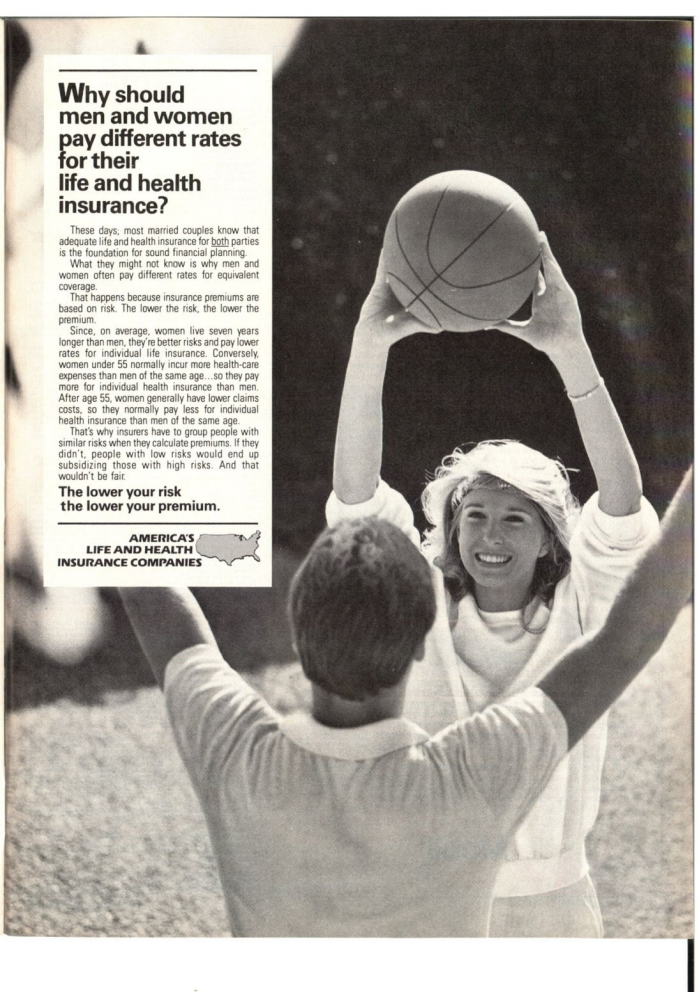
That happens because insurance premiums are based on risk. The lower the risk, the lower the premium.

Since, on average, women live seven years longer than men, they're better risks and pay lower rates for individual life insurance. Conversely, women under 55 normally incur more health-care expenses than men of the same age...so they pay more for individual health insurance than men. After age 55, women generally have lower claims costs, so they normally pay less for individual health insurance than men of the same age.

That's why insurers have to group people with similar risks when they calculate premiums. If they didn't, people with low risks would end up subsidizing those with high risks. And that wouldn't be fair.

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If our last principle seems classically simple and more than slightly familiar, well, nobody ever said the Golden Rule requires footnotes. Along with our other principles, we offer it as a basis of discussion—and a compass point to guide the nation through its current search for an effective trade policy.

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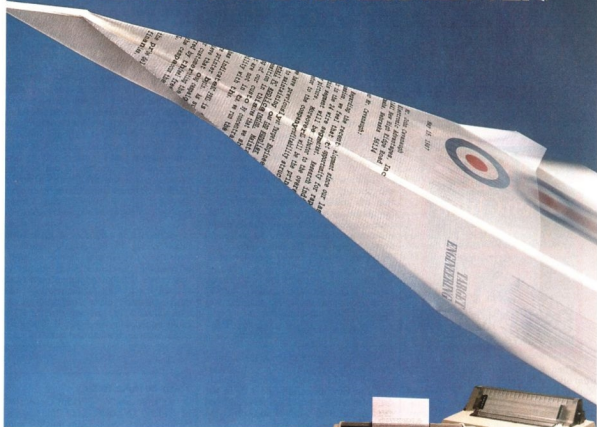
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TIME, JUNE 29, 1987

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sample from the Pinwriter P9XL printer

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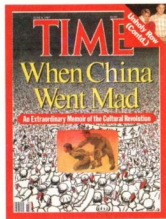
Letters

China's Madness

To the Editors:

I had just returned from studying in China when I noted the article about Nien Cheng's book, *Life and Death in Shanghai* [SPECIAL SECTION, June 8]. The excerpts did not convey the full madness of this period in Chinese history. It is easy to understand why an affluent woman like Cheng was singled out in a poor Communist country like China. But the most horrible aspect of the Cultural Revolution was how it persecuted the very patriots—intellectuals, peasants, soldiers and party members—who liberated, unified and were attempting to modernize their country.

M. Patrick Campbell
Meredith, N.H.



When Red Guards took everything from my parents during the Cultural Revolution, I was only ten years old. I formed a strong hatred toward "counterrevolutionaries," although I did not hate my parents for I thought some leaders had made a mistake by including them. I do not know where my hatred came from. I was too young to be considered a revolutionary. Probably it was the mad atmosphere that twisted my young mind. I still wonder how Mao brought out the most evil aspect in human nature and turned it into madness. Only a few people like Cheng refused to lie in the face of brutality. In order to avoid further mistreatment, most people "confessed" things they had never done, until, gradually, lying became a national disease. The love and trust destroyed during that devastating time are still missing in Chinese society. I know I am fighting the sickness I caught 20 years ago.

Xiao Zhou
College Station, Texas

Having served as a Little Red Guard during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution before immigrating to the U.S., I feel utterly disgusted at any suggestion that some people benefited from those years of madness and deserve to be

punished. The truth is that every Chinese suffered. What China needs is forgiveness, not retribution.

James Li
Fullerton, Calif.

There is no arguing the irrationality and unjustness of the Cultural Revolution. Many innocent Chinese suffered years of imprisonment and even death. However, Cheng lived an obscenely privileged and culturally absurd life in a society beset with poverty, starvation and all kinds of other social ills. While the Red Guards may have been a rabid extension of a failed philosophy, the general direction of the revolutionary movement was toward a more just existence for all people of the nation. This should have been obvious to the very few who lived the idyllic life of the wealthy in the China of the 1960s.

Mark W. Fenn
Grand Junction, Colo.

Life and Death in Shanghai recalls for me the cruelty during the Cultural Revolution. My grandfather was a wealthy man, but his money was not taken from the Chinese people, as claimed by the Communists. It was earned from his successful overseas business. He left Canton as a young man and returned there to retire. Cheng is still alive, but my grandfather was tortured to death by the Red Guards. During each interrogation session, he was forced to kneel on broken glass or was hung by his big toe upside down.

Jim H. Lee
Montebello, Calif.

Cheng's remembrance of the comfort given her by the spider in her cell reminded me of the solace Winnie Mandela found in viewing an ant and a fly in her cell. May these women not have suffered in vain. Let their courage and spirit lead to freedom for all who wish it.

Pam Jones
Denver

The Chinese have a proverb, "Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future." Unfortunately, we Chinese are the people who always forgive and forget the pain after the wound is healed. So I would not be surprised if such a nightmare as the Cultural Revolution were repeated in China.

Si-Jin Li
Philadelphia

Dangerous Game

AIDS is not a political football, and to allow it to become one is a dangerous game that risks the lives of millions of people [NATION, June 8]. This is no time to think of personal life-styles or individuals' rights. To slow the spread of this disease, we must make testing mandatory for everyone, starting with those at high risk and those seeking a marriage license. It should be a federal offense for people who

know they have AIDS to engage in sex without disclosing their condition.

AIDS is not a private matter, and groups that use their political clout to force this view on the general population are guilty of multiple murders.

Mary Plotkin
Mission Viejo, Calif.

As a registered nurse routinely exposed to blood under uncontrolled conditions, I feel neither bigoted nor excessively paranoid in experiencing some concern for my continued well-being. Hemorrhage can strike at any time without warning. No nurse anywhere, however cautious, can be constantly protected from unexpected contact with another's blood. While I would have no hesitation in caring for patients with AIDS, regardless of how they got it, I should like to do so both knowingly and willingly. It seems unfair to me that I must, simply by conscientiously performing the duties of my profession, risk unwitting exposure to this deadly and increasingly common disease.

Susan Kahrs
Lodi, Calif.

Reagan and a number of others insist on referring to individuals uninfected with the AIDS virus as "innocent." This term carries the clear implication that the more than 30,000 dead humans who contracted the disease through homosexual activity or intravenous drug use were not innocent and died quite deservedly. It is a cruel injustice to these people and their surviving friends and loved ones.

Mark McNease
Los Angeles

Focus on Nuke Tests

In your article "A Third Generation of Nukes" [NATION, May 25], you cite "some experts" who claim that the main reason for the U.S. rejection of Soviet test-ban proposals lies with our desire to "perfect" new weapons concepts related to the Strategic Defense Initiative. This view is wrong. The focus of our testing program is to ensure that the nuclear weapons we must rely on to deter Soviet aggression are as safe and secure as possible and that they remain reliable and effective in the face of a determined Soviet effort—in both nuclear and nonnuclear weapons programs—to undermine the credibility of our deterrent forces.

Nuclear testing has permitted us to reduce the aggregate force of our nuclear arsenal to one-quarter of the level fielded 20 years ago. Contrary to TIME's assertion that such developments make it "more probable that a conventional skirmish would escalate into a nuclear exchange," they serve to deter a potential aggressor from hostile action in the first place.

Robert B. Barker
Assistant to the Secretary
of Defense (Atomic Energy)
Washington

Letters

People in Power

Your cover story on morality in the U.S. [ETHICS, May 25] was a great disappointment to me. So many people have expressed surprise that my picture would be included in the context of many alleged malefactors with an aura of criminality. The context lent a category of wrongdoing to my image that was not justified by the facts.

*Charles Z. Wick, Director
U.S. Information Agency
Washington*

When those in positions of power begin to feel that the values they hold are absolutely right, then they start to act as though they know better than the people whom they serve.

*Kay Robertson
Lynnwood, Wash.*

PTL Stone Casting

Jerry Falwell and Jim Bakker [RELIGION, June 8] deserve all the problems they get as they proceed to tear each other apart in public.

*Billie Stevens
Mercer Island, Wash.*

A ministry is not a commodity to be bought, sold or stolen. All so-called Christian ministries belong to God and the believers. Jim and Tammy Bakker continually refer to PTL as their ministry. It is this fundamental flaw in thought, attitude and deed that has undermined these people, brought them to their knees and exposed this cult. It should be a good lesson and presage for all televangelists. Just as *Numbers 32: 23* says, "... be sure your sin will find you out."

*Paul H. Krieger
San Diego*

Hyping Helga

Art Critic Robert Hughes generously gives *Art & Antiques* magazine more credit than we deserve [ART, June 1]. We did not mastermind the world media coverage of Andrew Wyeth's Helga paintings. We published the paintings because we liked them. I suspect the editors of the *New York Times*, *TIME*, *Newsweek* and the countless other publications that carried stories on the subject arrived at their decisions independently of ours, although I quite understand, considering the quality of our magazine, why Hughes would believe they could not do otherwise but follow our lead.

*Wick Allison, Editor in Chief
Art & Antiques
New York City*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to *TIME*, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

SAVE THE WHALES!



Japan, Iceland and Norway Defy Ban

The last of the great whales face a bleak future. In defiance of a ban on commercial whaling by the International Whaling Commission (IWC), Japan, Iceland and Norway continue their ruthless killing.

These extraordinary marine mammals, with the most complex brains that have ever evolved, have been driven to the brink of extinction. There is no longer any need for whale products; there are cheap, plentiful substitutes for the lubricating oil, steaks, margarine and minik food extracted from whales.

Fraudulent "Science"

In a transparent move to evade the IWC's ban on all commercial whaling, the ruthless whaling nations claim now they must continue to harpoon thousands of whales for "research" on the biological status of the species. The millions of pounds of meat and oil are being sold for commercial gain.

Dr. Roger Payne, the eminent whale scientist, comments: "The switch by the whaling nations from commercial to scientific whaling is nothing but a scam. It is commercial greed wearing a lab coat." Sir Peter Scott, the great naturalist, writes: "I strongly distrust science based upon dead whales when we have so many available techniques for studying the living whale." This week, the IWC is meeting in England. The 40-nation treaty body, which called for whaling to halt in 1985, will vote on a proposal to set rigid guidelines on scientific research. The whaling nations have vowed to oppose any restriction on their "right" to grant themselves research permits to kill.

Japan Doublecrosses U.S.

The Japanese government is even betraying a commitment to the U.S. government to end all whaling by early 1988. In order to avoid U.S. economic sanctions for its violation of whaling bans, Japan made a bilateral agreement in 1984 to phase out its whaling.

During a lengthy court challenge to the bilateral by conservation groups, Japan pledged repeatedly—even before the U.S. Supreme Court—that it "will cease whaling... as of April 1st, 1988" Japan now says it will kill more than 8,000 endangered whales in the name of "research" over the next ten years.

The outlaw whaling nations are violating a trade ban in whale products established by the 95-nation Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species.

Please Help Save the Whales

We need your help to halt the massacre of the last of the whales. Here's what you can do:

- 1) Write a letter to President Reagan, urging him to invoke the economic sanctions already in U.S. law against the fishing industries of Japan, Iceland and Norway. His address is The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500.
- 2) Boycott products from Japan, Iceland and Norway, especially their fish, such as artificial crab legs, frozen cod, fresh salmon and canned sardines. Ask your local markets and restaurants to join the fish boycott. Alert your friends. Write a letter to your local newspaper.
- 3) Make a tax-deductible contribution to AWI's Save-the-Whales Campaign. For a contribution of \$15 or more, you will receive a beautiful, four-color print of the sperm whales (above), measuring 19"x25", by renowned marine life artist Richard Ellis. Your generosity can help save the whales.

The Animal Welfare Institute has worked since 1951 to prevent animal suffering and the exploitation of endangered species. All of our support comes from concerned individuals and groups. A copy of AWI's annual report is written upon request to AWI or to the New York State Dept. of State, Office of Charities Registration, Albany, N.Y. 12231.

I want to help SAVE THE WHALES

- ☐ Please send me more information about how I can save the whales
☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of \$ _____
 (Make checks payable to Animal Welfare Institute)
☐ Please send me a color print of the sperm whales (donation of \$15 or more)

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Nation

TIME/JUNE 29, 1987

"Not Guilty"

A jury acquits the subway gunman, but the argument goes on

CONGRATULATIONS! read the placard held high by a muscular white man in a checked shirt. **BERNIE GOETZ WINS ONE FOR THE GOOD GUYS!**

"Goetz is a Nazi!" shouted a nearby black man in his 20s.

CRIMINALS, WATCH OUT, promised another sign. **WE'LL GET YOU.**

"New York will reap the wind, that is certain," a black minister warned.

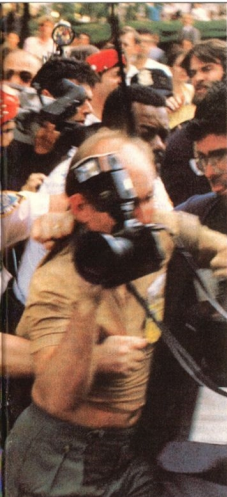
That was the scene of shouting and shoving outside a Manhattan courtroom last week at the end of what Judge Stephen Chen called the "most difficult case

of our time." After four days of deliberations, a jury of ten whites and two blacks had just acquitted Bernhard Goetz of all but one relatively minor charge in the 1984 shooting of four black youths who Goetz said had threatened him on a subway train.

Goetz stood utterly motionless while Jury Foreman James Hurley pronounced 17 times the words "Not guilty." Not guilty of the attempted murder of Troy Canty, 20, and Barry Allen, James Ramseur and Darrell Cabey, all 21, even though the reedy, bespectacled gunman had said in a taped confession that he

"wanted to murder" all of them. Not guilty of assault against any of them, not even Cabey, left paralyzed and brain damaged. The courtroom audience gasped at several of the verdicts and at the end applauded.

A squad of Guardian Angels in red berets helped propel the 39-year-old electronics technician through the turbulent crowds outside and hustle him back to his bachelor apartment. Still ahead lies a September sentencing of up to seven years in prison for illegal possession of a gun, plus multimillion-dollar damage suits filed against him by three of his four victims.



Court officers shield Goetz after the verdict

federal suit on the ground that the four youths' civil rights were violated.

A number of legal experts are worried about prospective abuses of the law. "The message scares me," said David Austern, director of education at the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. "It says that potential victims can use deadly force whenever they want." New York City officials hastened to reject that view. "Some will take this as a signal that vigilantes are acceptable, but we will not permit that," said Mayor Ed Koch. Black Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward grimly added, "No one has a license to go out and hunt anyone—black, green, yellow or whatever."

The central issue in the seven-week trial was not just whether Goetz feared that the four youths were about to rob him but also what a "reasonable man" would do in his own defense. Only one of the four victims, Cauty, actually approached Goetz and asked him for money. All four had police records, but Goetz could not know that. Two of them carried screwdrivers because they were planning to break into some video machines, but Goetz could not know that either. He could only look at them—he said that Cauty was smiling and had "shiny eyes"—and guess what might happen next. Having been mugged and seriously injured by three black youths in 1981, Goetz took out his .38-cal. revolver and started firing.

Assistant District Attorney Gregory Waples strenuously argued that a reasonable man would avoid a confrontation, or at least would show his gun before firing it. Goetz, said Waples, was full of "blind, self-righteous, volcanic fury." Far from acting reasonably, he had attempted a "cold-blooded execution."

The only principal who testified fully was Cauty, neatly attired in a suit. He did admit that he had a police record for theft and was in a drug-rehabilitation program, but he said nobody had harassed or threatened Goetz at all. He had just politely asked, "Mister, can I have \$5?" Defense

Lawyer Barry Slotnick called Cauty a "liar."

"That day on the subway . . . you weren't wearing that nice suit and tie, were you?" Slotnick demanded.

"No, I wasn't," Cauty agreed.

Cauty was physically unable to testify, and Allen took the Fifth Amendment, but the most important non-witness was Ramsey, who bristled under Slotnick's questions about his criminal record, particularly his conviction for the rape of a pregnant woman. When Ramsey finally refused to answer any more questions, Crane sentenced him to six months in jail for contempt. Crane ordered all of Ramsey's testimony stricken, but his appearance undoubtedly had its effect on the jury. "He had so much pent-up rage," Juror Serpe told the New York *Daily News*. "He reminded me of a caged animal. . . I had a nightmare about him. . . I woke up feeling drained."

Like several of the jurors, Serpe judged Goetz in the light of his previous mugging. "I was undecided at first, but one thing that changed my mind was the judge's instructions that what is reasonable can be related to past experiences. Bernhard Goetz had some violence in his past experiences. What is reasonable for him might not be reasonable for me."

Like other jurors, she found herself able to disbelieve a key part of Goetz's taped confession, in which he stated he had approached Cauty and said, "You don't look so bad, here's another," and then fired again. "Did that really happen, or did he just think he said that?" Serpe wondered. "He was so agitated. . . He just wasn't being rational."

This was a jury of ordinary people, people who ride the crime-ridden subway and know how things are down there. Six of the twelve had been victims of street crime. Anyone taking a subway ride last week could hear similar views. "I can understand what Goetz did," said Eileen Dudley, a black secretary. "I was held up once. You would do anything in that situation."

One of the commonest accusations was that if Goetz had been black and his victims white, he would have been severely punished, which may be true. But few recall the case of Austin Weeks, then 29, a black who was riding a subway train through Brooklyn in April 1980 when he was accosted by two white youths, both 17. One of them, Terry Zilimbinkas, leaned over Weeks in his seat and uttered a number of racial insults. Weeks took out an unlicensed pistol, according to police, and shot Zilimbinkas dead. Like Goetz, Weeks slipped away unnoticed. Unlike Goetz, he did not turn himself in or confess. Police finally tracked him down six years later. The grand jury refused to indict him, and so he went free. There were few headlines, and the case was quickly forgotten. —By Otto Friedrich.

Reported by Roger Franklin and Raji Samghabadi/New York

Outside the courthouse, a case of black vs. white



The jurors claimed that there were no racial elements in their decision and that no one should read such implications into it. "We were doing nothing more than what we were charged by the judge to do," said Juror Diana Serpe. "We weren't trying to send a message to the public."

But the case of *People v. Bernhard Goetz* raised such basic and emotional questions about a man's right to defend himself, about street crime and racism, that the jury decision on this inherently inconsequential shooting prompted headlines around the world. SUBWAY VIGILANTE CLEARED, said the *London Times*. SCARY SUBWAY, SELF-DEFENSE, said Tokyo's *Sankei Shimbun*. "Despite the virtuous denials of the jury," declared Paris' *Le Monde*, "no one believed, of course, that the verdict would have been the same if the accused had been black and the 'victims' white."

That idea naturally occurred to a number of New Yorkers, particularly blacks, who can cite several recent cases of whites going unpunished for the deaths of blacks. "It was a terrible and grave miscarriage of justice," said Benjamin L. Hooks, the executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., which is considering a

"We Have Reached Breakpoint"

The President and the Democrats square off over the budget

From the moment they recaptured the Senate last fall, Capitol Hill Democrats set out to prove they were not hopelessly divided and terminally ineffectual. They were determined to show that they could work together, make policy and lead the nation—in short, that they deserved to take over the White House after 1988. They made a bravura start, quickly passing a clean-water bill over the President's veto and approving the \$88 billion highway bill over another Reagan veto. The Republicans, shell-shocked by the midterm election loss and defensive over

limping from the continuing Iran-contra revelations, the President was looking for a quick score. So Reagan did what he does best: he took to the airwaves and attacked the old "tax and tax, spend and spend" ways of the Democrats. The assault pushed Byrd and House Speaker Jim Wright into hurried meetings with their deadlocked committees, and by week's end the Democrats had agreed on a \$1 trillion spending plan for next year, including a \$19.3 billion tax increase that Reagan vows he would veto.

The confrontation hinges on taxes

With the President on the attack and the Democrats determined to force him to face up to a tax increase, the budget battle has become the year's most contentious issue. Although Reagan's television speech sounded hackneyed themes—and got little public response—it represents the first salvo of a new campaign. Over the coming weeks, the President will be out on the hustings preaching for his favorite reforms—a line-item veto, a balanced-budget amendment and two-year budget cycles—all of which are going nowhere in Congress. The Reagan message is simple. "In the critical matchup between those who want to keep spending your money and raising your taxes, and those of us who resist a return to the old policies... we have now reached breakpoint," he said in his speech.

Bashing Congress over the budget may represent the Republicans' best hope for regaining a political edge. Said one senior White House aide: "We're going to stay with this issue. In the fall, when the Iran-contra hearings are largely behind us, we'll still be scoring with it." Chief of Staff Howard Baker was reluctant to go along with the confrontational strategy; he tried to remove the tough language from the President's speech, until one of his aides threatened to quit over the matter. "Baker's dying a thousand deaths right now," said a White House source. "He wants to compromise, to make a deal. He has trouble realizing that we've got to hold to an absolute position... To concede now would be to give up the last remnants of power that Reagan has."

The first big congressional showdown should come just before the August recess when three legislative issues may be resolved: an increase in the federal debt limit, the reconciliation of the authorizing bills with the budget committee's guidelines, and the need to redress problems in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget law. The Democrats will be at a particular disadvantage when they begin earmarking their tax increases: proposals for excise taxes on cigarettes, liquor or gasoline are sure to outrage various constituencies. Says South Carolina Senator Fritz Hollings: "I don't know how we're going to get the Democrats together on taxes. That's going to be the tough one."

Meanwhile, Senate Republicans have indicated their approval for the President's hard line by presenting him with a "veto pencil" more than a foot long. Thus far neither party seems ready to make the tough decisions necessary to pay for the programs it wants; each seems to be trying to maneuver the other further out on a limb. Looking toward the inevitable confrontation between the White House and the Democrats, Hollings predicts, "It's gonna be one big high noon."

—By Richard Stengel,
Reported by David Beckwith and Michael
Duffy/Washington



A big stick, aimed at Byrd and Wright
Pushing each other out on a limb.

the Iran-contra affair, were reduced to the role of helpless spectators.

That was the easy part. But when it came to figuring out how to write a budget without boosting the deficit or gutting the military, the newly united Democrats came unglued. As haggling over a 1988 budget resolution split the House and Senate Democrats, Congress came to a near standstill for almost six weeks. The Washington Post derided the "Flubocrats," and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, stymied on other fronts, threatened to delay the August recess if his dilatory colleagues did not buckle down.

Last week an outside agitator stepped forward and concentrated congressional attention. The unlikely catalyst: Ronald Reagan, who had resolutely ignored Congress's budget dilemma after his own spending plan had been rejected by both Democrats and Republicans. Returning from a humdrum summit in Venice and

and military spending. The President had proposed a \$320 billion defense appropriation; House Democrats wanted \$288 billion for defense—virtually the same as this year—while the Senate was holding out for \$301 billion. The compromise would give the Pentagon \$296 billion, but only if the President agreed to hike taxes to help pay for the cost. If Reagan rejected the tax increase, the Pentagon would get just \$289 billion. The Democratic resolution attempts to lock Reagan into a damned-if-he-does, damned-if-he-doesn't position, placing the burden of new taxes on his shoulders. It is a game the President insists he will not play.

Rough Seas and New Names

Reagan defends his plan to beef up the U.S. presence in the gulf

Kuwaiti oil tankers once known as the exotic-sounding *Al Rekkah* and *Casbah* will soon be traversing the Persian Gulf bearing such familiar American names as *Sea Isle City* and *Ocean City*. But more than just the names will have changed. Under the plan President Reagan announced in the wake of Iraq's inadvertent attack on the U.S.S. *Stark*, eleven Kuwaiti tankers are scheduled to begin sailing under the Stars and Stripes next week. They will be captained by American skippers and escorted by American warships as they ply the world's most treacherous waterway.

At the moment, the plan has hit even rougher waters at home from those who think a challenge is being thrown to Iran without full consideration of the risks. A broad array of critics has come out opposed. Henry Kissinger, despite his sensitivities to Soviet aggrandizement, warned of the implications of a U.S. tilt toward Iraq in its 6½-year war with Iran. Jeane Kirkpatrick advised the Administration to go slow. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, a West Virginia Democrat, called Reagan's plan "half baked, poorly developed." Said his Republican counterpart, Bob Dole of Kansas: "I don't think anyone knows quite what the policy is." Even ultraconservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms remarked that Congress needed "more answers" from the Administration before approving the reflagging plan.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was on the brink of voting on a bill that would halt the reflagging. But after a lengthy conference with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, the panel decided to delay the vote until this week. "We need a few more days to think about it," said Chairman Claiborne Pell, a Rhode Island Democrat.

The Administration was grateful for the reprieve. "Congress blinked," sighed a senior Pentagon official. "But the question is for how long." Reagan made it clear that he was certainly not going to blink. "We will accept our responsibility for these vessels in the face of threats by Iran or anyone else," he insisted in a televised address last week. "If we don't do the job, the Soviets will."

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger tried to mollify Congress with a 26-page report explaining the Navy's new rules of engagement in the gulf. Warships are now operating under "hair-trigger" alert, prepared to fire on any plane or vessel that approaches in a hostile manner. Under these rules, the Iraqi jet that zeroed in on the *Stark* would have been blown out of the sky before it could launch its missiles. He assured worried Congressmen that the threat to U.S. vessels was, as the report put it, "low to moderate."

The CIA, however, gave a more

disturbing assessment, calling the threat of some Iranian response "quite high." This prompted House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin to complain that the Administration clearly had not figured out what it was getting into. There are suspicions that Iran has set up mines in the waters of Kuwait's primary oil port at Al-Ahmadi. Should a ship hit one of them, said Aspin, it would be "something on which there are no Iranian fingerprints." Thus the U.S. would be less able to retaliate. Another threat is the Chinese-made Silkworm missiles that Iran is deploying along the Strait of Hormuz. They have a range of about 50 miles, enough to cover the entire strait, and car-

provide landing rights to U.S. aircraft, but so far little progress has been made. Last month the Administration hoped to persuade the Saudis to agree by selling them 1,600 Maverick antitank missiles. But when Reagan attempted to push through the deal by giving Congress only last-minute notification, the lawmakers were outraged. The Administration quickly withdrew the plan for the sale before Congress could block it.

The reflagging plan will weaken any remaining American pretense of neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war; Kuwait is a staunch supporter of Iraq. There were faint hopes last week that Syria, which is Iran's only important ally in the Arab world, might change its allegiance. Jordan and Saudi Arabia have been struggling to ease the bitter rivalry between Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and Syrian President Hafez Assad. How-



ry a 1,000-lb. warhead, three times as heavy as the warhead of the Exocet that hit the *Stark*.

Providing proper air cover remains a problem. The aircraft carrier *Constellation* is patrolling just outside the gulf, but a plane taking off from its deck would have to travel 600 miles to reach the Kuwaiti harbor at the northern end of the waterway. That would require in-flight refueling and make an attack trickier. The U.S. has been negotiating with Saudi Arabia to

ever, no agreement has yet been forged.

The U.S. has already begun beefing up its presence in the gulf by sending a destroyer and two frigates to join the six Navy ships already there. Registry of the Kuwaiti vessels has been transferred to the Chesapeake Shipping Co. of Dover, Del. Hence, when the Kuwaitis decided to change the Arabic names of the ships, they opened an atlas and picked the names of seaside towns in the Delaware Bay area.

In the meantime, the U.S. continued to grapple with the incident that sparked the new policy. The crew of the *Stark*, the House Armed Services Committee has concluded, failed to react promptly to the Iraqi jet. Last week the ship's skipper, Captain Glenn Brindel—who had left the bridge to go to the lavatory and was in his private quarters when the vessel was hit—was removed from duty, as were two subordinate officers. The military board that investigated the tragedy has reportedly recommended that Brindel be court-martialed for negligence.

—By Jacob V. Lamer Jr.
Reported by Hays Gorey and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



The *Constellation*: providing long-distance air cover
The threat of Iranian response is "quite high."

Nation

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Deep in the Bear's Den

When the new U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Jack Matlock, rose to toast his guests recently in the shadowy old Spaso House residence, even he was astonished at the scene before him. Around the dinner table were two former U.S. Secretaries of Defense, two former CIA directors and one former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff mixed in with Soviet officials, including Victor Sukhodrev, deputy director for U.S.A.-Canada in the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

"I don't think that this has ever happened before," said Matlock. Such lofty authorities from the U.S., their minds stuffed with the greatest secrets of the nation, had never clustered in the bear's den, for the simple, spy-novel reason that they might be compromised and the vital stuff sweated out of them.



The CIA man outside the old KGB headquarters

Though these visitors were out of office, they still formed quite a data bank. Melvin Laird had been Richard Nixon's Secretary of Defense and John Vessey the Chairman of Ronald Reagan's Joint Chiefs. James Schlesinger had run the CIA for Nixon and then the Defense Department for Nixon and Gerald Ford. Richard Helms had spent his career as one of the nation's top spooks.

Together they were on two study missions to investigate the security breaches in the old and new American embassies.

When the evening ended, Sukhodrev sidled up to Helms, smiled and said warmly, "I never expected to meet a chief of the CIA." It was one of those poignant moments that sometimes occur in the tortured destinies of the superpowers. Archadversaries come together and find their instincts are to like each other, then politics and duty send them off into the dark night to battle again. Author John le Carré could not have written it better. Spymaster George Smiley goes to Moscow and feels the great sadness of mankind's grim contention.

Helms could not visit the Soviet Union until now. He began his intelligence career with the OSS in 1943 and headed the CIA from 1966 to 1973. For 30 years he was the one who ran the spies. The unwritten but iron rule of the CIA was that no man who holds the secrets puts himself into a hostile environment.

Nevertheless, Helms knew Moscow. "I studied the pictures and the reports that came across my desk," he said. He memorized the sad face of his principal adversary, longtime KGB Chief Yuri Andropov, who went on to run the Soviet Union before he died. Helms fought Andropov in the back alleys of the world with his agents, in the heavens with his U-2s and satellites. He won plenty, lost a few—stories that will never be told. "The man who kept the secrets," Author Thomas Powers called Helms. He still keeps them.

Before he left the U.S. for Moscow, Helms made sure he had proper bedroom attire, since he figured he might be photographed by a hidden camera. He also assumed his room would be bugged, and so he put his mind on caution: say nothing sensitive in close quarters. He found himself utterly unsurprised by the city as he drove from the airport to his hotel: "It was drab, monotonous, massive." Only the dazzling, painted spires and domes of the Kremlin and St. Basil's cathedral seemed to challenge the glum and crowded streets. The place brooded, threatened, Helms thought, "but then it always had from 5,000 miles away."

Helms and the others on the Laird commission did their investigation of what went wrong with security in the old embassy. Then Helms indulged himself just a bit: he made his way to the old KGB building where the enemy had plotted against him. He stood out front, unknown, unchallenged.

He wanted a picture of himself below the giant statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the man who started the Cheka, progenitor of the KGB. The statue stands in a circle in front of the building. Helms tried to make his way across the congested street but could not. The policeman refused to halt the rushing traffic. Helms stopped, chuckled and went off—just as George Smiley would have done.

Keeping Up His Guard

North again refuses to talk

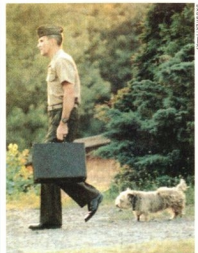


"I don't think there is another person in America who wants to tell this story as much as I do."

Despite that heartfelt declaration to Congress last December, Marine Lieut. Colonel Oliver North has now twice refused to answer their questions about his pivotal role in the Iran-*contra* affair. North first invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination before the House Foreign Affairs Committee; last week the former National Security Council aide showed no interest in testifying privately to investigators of the congressional select committees probing the scandal.

North bluntly informed the House and Senate committees that he would not submit to interrogation by staff lawyers, as have all other witnesses, in closed sessions that were to begin last Thursday. His lawyer, Brendan Sullivan, argued that in private interrogation North would not have the limited immunity from prosecution that he has been guaranteed as a witness before the full panel.

North's surprising maneuver left committee members angered and baffled about the Marine's underlying purpose. Did he hope to put off testifying until he had the advantage of knowing what would be said by his former boss, ex-National Security Adviser John Poindexter, who is due up as a witness early next month? Or could North's testimony be so explosive that he would not risk exposing it to a leak from the private sessions? Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh is not expected to start legal action against



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Congress could find him in contempt.

DELTA 88

"I got it because
I'm a father,
not because I'm a
golfer." *Fuzzy Zoeller*

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Let's got it together...buckle up



Nation

Yet Another Saudi Connection

Did illegal support go to Angolan rebels as well as contras?

North before his congressional appearance. Could the refusal to testify be an attempt to pressure Walsh into indicting him—thus providing North with a solid argument against the jeopardy of giving any testimony before Congress?

Committee members tended to downgrade the effect of North's tactic. Said a somber Senate Chairman Daniel Inouye: "We can [start] contempt proceedings, but obviously that would take much time." Finding North in contempt would trigger further court action that might take until October or later. Simply questioning North in public session could still produce an effective, if longer, interrogation, said Inouye. Lawyers for both sides discussed a compromise that would have North submit to limited questioning in private, but no agreement had been reached at week's end. Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House panel, indicated he and his colleagues would resist any plan under which "North would be dictating the procedures."

While North was jolting the congressional committees, the Justice Department launched an attack on the statute that provides for the appointment of independent counsels such as Walsh. The Justice Department contends that the 1978 law unconstitutionally abridges traditional executive power over all prosecutors by providing that judicial panels appoint the independent counsels. North has separately filed suit contesting Walsh's authority, and former White House Aide Michael Deaver, facing trial for perjury, is challenging his prosecutor, Whitney North Seymour.

With the law relating to independent counsel due to expire in January, Assistant Attorney General John Bolton announced last week that the Justice Department would ask the President to veto any extension of it. "Nothing is too trivial for these people to investigate," Bolton said of the independent counsels. Moreover, he complained, the independent probes cost three to five times as much as those by the department's public-integrity section. After Bolton lambasted Walsh for renting \$36-per-sq.-ft. office space, the Iran-contras prosecutor's office mildly pointed out that its lease was arranged by the General Services Administration and that unusually expensive security requirements were demanded by the FBI.

The Senate started drafting legislation to reauthorize the independent counsels despite the Bolton blast—which even the White House considered "contentious and intemperate." The President, said Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, has not decided whether he would veto the expected extension of the statute. Such a veto might well be embarrassing. Six independent counsels are investigating present or former Administration officials, including Bolton's boss, Attorney General Edwin Meese.

—By Frank Trippett

Reported by Anne Constable and Hays Gorey/
Washington

Sam Bamieh, the owner of an export business in San Mateo, Calif., is more familiar than he would like to be with the Saudi royal household. A naturalized American who was born and raised in Palestine and had long maintained close ties to the royal family, Bamieh, 48, says that aides of King Fahd held him hostage for four months in Saudi Arabia last year. As Bamieh tells it, his captors threatened to behead him unless he stopped claiming that a member of the family owed him \$1.4 million from a business deal gone sour.

Bamieh, understandably, complied with the request. But he filed a \$58 million damage suit against the royal aides after his return to the U.S. In addition, Bamieh

controversial sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia. Fahd told Bamieh that the deal had run into trouble in a dispute over the degree of U.S. participation in operating the AWACS' sensitive electronic gear. Fahd said the deadlock was broken only when the Saudis acceded to U.S. requests to fund anti-Communist movements. "Where?" Bamieh asked.

"They'll tell us," Fahd replied. "We don't have to do it right away."

In October 1983, Ali Ben Mussallam, a former Saudi intelligence officer then serving as Fahd's emissary to Morocco, told Bamieh that the Saudis had given Morocco \$50 million to help train the UNITA troops. Shortly afterward Saudi Prince Bandar asked Bamieh to help ar-



The possible beneficiaries of secret U.S. aid: UNITA troops inside Angola in 1985

The alleged deal: A U.S. swap of AWACS for Fahd's funds.

has told congressional investigators that the Saudi government made a secret deal with the Reagan Administration in 1981 to fund rebel "freedom fighters" in exchange for the right to purchase sophisticated AWACS radar planes.

Bamieh will detail his claims next week to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, which is looking into covert U.S. aid to the pro-Western guerrillas fighting Angola's Marxist government. The Clark amendment, passed in 1976 and in effect until August 1985, made it illegal for the U.S. to assist the rebels, known as UNITA. Congressional investigators suspect that the Reagan Administration used its Saudi connection to support UNITA, just as it later used the Saudis to help get around the Boland amendment, which banned U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

Bamieh told TIME last week that Fahd described the Saudi connection to him during a visit to Jidda in late 1981, shortly after the Senate had approved the

range shipments of military and other supplies to the rebels through Morocco and Zaïre. Bamieh declined, claiming that this was too dangerous. In February 1984, at a meeting in Cannes, Bandar once again tried to get Bamieh interested in providing supplies to both Angola and the contras. But once again he begged off.

Although the Saudis have denied aiding UNITA or the contras, their contributions to the Nicaraguan rebels are well established. Former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane told the Iran-contras committees that Saudi Arabia had funneled \$32 million to them over two years. In 1982 UNITA Leader Jonas Savimbi also hinted that he was receiving covert U.S. assistance despite the congressional ban. If this was arranged in a secret deal with Saudi Arabia, contends Democratic Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the Africa subcommittee, "it would be a clear violation of the Clark amendment."

—By Ed Magnuson

Reported by Jay Peterzell/Washington



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American Notes



Florida: farewell, Dusky Seaside

PHOTO BY ERIC OLSON, INC.



Los Angeles: the homeless at their "urban campground"



Airports: shuttle security in D.C.

ATLANTA

Close Call For The Mayor

"We should never be so concerned about anything that we stop caring for each other," Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young declared last week. That pastoral attitude, says Young, was the reason for his March 25 telephone call to the estranged wife of his friend and political colleague Julian Bond, cautioning her about allegations of cocaine use she was making to the police. Those charges implicated Bond, Young and other prominent Atlantans. (She later retracted the charges, which were denied by both Young and Bond.) A grand jury took up the case.

Last week, however, U.S. Attorney Robert Barr announced that Young would not be indicted for obstruction of justice, despite indications that federal statutes were violated. Said the mayor: "You are innocent until proven guilty. What [Barr] said was there was not enough evidence to prove me guilty. That's innocent enough for me."

FLORIDA

A Sparrow Falls

Just six inches from tip to tail, the tiny brown birds made their home in a ten-mile coast-

al stretch of marsh near Titusville, Fla. When development from nearby Cape Canaveral began to encroach, they stubbornly refused to move, and their numbers declined relentlessly. Last week the last known Dusky Seaside Sparrow expired: Orange Band, a twelve-year-old male, was found dead in its cage.

Scientists tried to save the bird from extinction by cross-breeding it with a hardier sparrow. But Orange Band died before they could complete the job, leaving five hybrid Dusky Seaside—one of them seven-eighths pure.

LOS ANGELES

Skid Row Pavilions

During the Great Depression, the newly homeless squatted outside American cities in shantytowns derisively christened Hoovervilles. Last week Los Angeles opened a spruced-up, officially sanctioned version of the same thing, called an "urban campground," on a dusty, windswept lot between the Los Angeles River and the city's skid row. From a distance, the rows of yellow-and-white canopies look as if they might have been set up for a garden party. But inside are only Army-green cots with portable toilets placed nearby. Guards from the Salvation Army, which worked with Mayor Tom Bradley to establish the settlement, frisked the 350 new

residents for weapons, liquor or drugs.

Bradley was under pressure to offer an alternative to the homeless after he ordered police to clear them from the sidewalks. But critics promptly termed the tent settlement a concentration camp. At best, it provides only a temporary respite for its residents. In two months the lot will be cleared for construction of a rail yard, and no one has figured out what to do with the homeless then. Undoubtedly many will drift back to the streets.

LOUISIANA

Four for The Chair

Convicted Murderer Benjamin Berry, 31, went to the electric chair June 7, the first person executed in Louisiana in 28 months. Two days later Alvin Moore Jr., 27, executed for a rape-robbery-murder, became the second. Three days after that, Jimmy Glass, 25, convicted of shooting a rural couple to death, took the chair with a quip: "I'd just as soon be fishing." Then last week Glass's accomplice Jimmy Wingo, 35, declared both innocent and forgiveness ("I do still love you all in Christ") as he became the fourth person to be executed in the state in ten days.

All four Louisiana executions had been delayed because the condemned—three of them white—argued in part that the

death penalty was disproportionately applied to killers of whites. But the Supreme Court rejected that argument in April, resolving the last major constitutional question about capital punishment. Louisiana would have racked up five executions in eleven days, but the Supreme Court, to allow a possible review, stayed the electrocution of Mass Murderer Leslie Lowenfield.

AIRPORTS

Asleep at The Gate

Almost every airline passenger has had the annoying experience of having keys, a belt buckle or some other bit of metal set a detection device buzzing. But how well do airport guards spot passengers actually carrying guns? To find out, the Federal Aviation Administration conducted a four-month test late last year in which agents, each packing an inoperative pistol in carry-on luggage or clothing, tried to sneak the weapons through airport gates around the country.

The result, disclosed last week: the weapons passed through 20% of the time on average. At Sky Harbor International Airport in Phoenix, two-thirds of the concealed armaments escaped detection. The FAA blamed the failures not on faulty metal detectors or luggage X rays but on guards who failed to pay attention.

World

COVER STORIES

Under Siege

As unrest spreads, South Korea faces a crisis of Olympic proportions



Charging into a crowd of several thousand protesting students one night last week in the huge square in front of the Bank of Korea, a unit of 80 riot police suddenly found themselves cut off from reinforcements. A sea of chanting demonstrators quickly surrounded the police, who had already used up their supplies of pepper gas, a concentrated and

particularly painful form of tear gas. Out-numbered and overwhelmed, the police, many of them young conscripts, knelt in terror behind their riot shields, trying to fend off a torrent of rocks and gas canisters thrown by the students. The protesters began beating the police, then confiscating shields, helmets and other equipment. As the police were finally escorted to safety by student leaders, the

crowd set fire to two piles of the collected gear.

The scene was rich in symbolism: instruments of authoritarian control put to the torch, while their former wielders cowered in fear. Was it, spectators may have wondered, a preview of South Korea's future? Throughout the country last week, students erupted in a frenzy of defiant marches and demonstrations to pro-



test the six-year rule of President Chun Doo Hwan. Night after night they battled with tens of thousands of police, militia and plainclothes officers, who sought to break up the crowds with judo punches, shields and the virulent pepper gas, whose acrid fumes lingered for hours over the scenes of combat.

As the week of violence wore on, more than two dozen police outposts were reportedly destroyed or damaged, and hundreds of people on both sides were injured. On Friday a policeman died after being run over by a commandeered bus in the central city of Taejon. A student in Seoul was in a coma, near death, after being struck in the head by a rifle-fired gas canister. In a country where student-led protests have become a tradition, last week's disturbances were the most serious in seven years.

The latest wave of demonstrations broke out two weeks ago to protest the selection of Roh Tae Woo, chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, as its nominee for President in the national elections scheduled for later this year. But in contrast to the first disturbances, which involved only a few thousand students



and were primarily limited to Seoul, the capital, last week's demonstrations drew crowds as large as 50,000 and flared in more than two dozen cities. In the southern port of Pusan, according to some reports, protesters burned five municipal buses and seized a garbage truck as a makeshift barricade. In Taejon a crowd of 6,000 marchers fire-bombed two police

stations. On Wednesday night alone, crowds laid siege to 17 police outposts, two Democratic Justice Party district offices, and two buildings of the state-run Korean Broadcasting System.

The government responded by shutting down more than 50 major universities two to three weeks before summer vacation was to begin. But many students refused to accept the chance for an early holiday, remaining on or near the campus for nightly antigovernment rallies. In perhaps the most momentous development, the protests for the first time received the support of segments of South Korean society other than students. Housewives, businessmen and assorted onlookers shouted encouragement and occasionally joined the marchers, who in many cases were their sons and daughters. In Pusan, the country's second largest city and the scene of a demonstration involving 50,000 people, Presbyterian Minister Cho Chang Sop, 60, proudly reported that both of his college-age children had joined the protest. Said he: "Nowadays most of the parents support the kids." In Songnam, ten miles south of Seoul, a protest march led by a group of about 100 elderly people was



■ A scene rich in symbolism: riot police, outnumbered and overwhelmed, cower as chanting demonstrators put helmets, shields and other instruments of authoritarian control to the torch

■ The problem that was waiting to happen: "Tokchae Tado!" ("Down with the dictatorship!")

■ A change in the weather: for the first time frustrated and angry students are joined by housewives, businessmen and elderly people

joined by some 5,000 Koreans. "People are angry and disgusted," said a Seoul businessman. "They are willing to risk a bit more now than before."

If that is so, it could be bad news indeed for Chun and Roh at a time when their political scenario calls for nothing but happy headlines. South Korea is enjoying a period of spectacular economic growth, which has averaged about 8% annually over the past 20 years and is currently surging at 15.7% (vs. about 4.8% for the U.S. and 1.2% for Japan). Though South Korea lacks a democratic tradition, Chun's plan to turn over power next February to Roh, a longtime friend and fellow army general, would mark the first orderly presidential succession since the country became a republic in 1948. Finally, South Korea hopes that its being host of the 1988 Summer Olympics, scheduled to begin just 15 months from now, will serve as evidence of a new national maturity, much as the 1964 Tokyo Games ratified Japan's arrival as a world power.

One consequence of prosperity has been the emergence of a sizable middle class. In opinion surveys, as many as 80% of South Koreans describe themselves as members of that group. While the middle class embraces a work ethic that naturally abhors instability, it has begun to chafe under the strict, sometimes repressive rule of South Korea's military-dominated government. Last week's convulsions did not amount to a full-scale rebellion or draw a massive government crackdown. But the disturbances recalled the fate of South Korea's first President, Syngman Rhee, who was unseated by massive student demonstrations in 1960. The violence and ubiquity of the protests were enough to give South Korean leaders a first-rate scare. Said Hyun Hong Choo, a Democratic Justice Party member of the National Assembly: "If the violence continues, it threatens the economy, the national security, the nation. We are very concerned."

So are many non-Koreans, including officials of the Reagan Administration. The U.S. maintains 40,000 troops in South Korea, a military presence that has persisted since the end of the Korean War in 1953. With the heavily armed Soviet- and Chinese-backed Communist dictatorship of North Korea just across the Demilitarized Zone, South Korea serves strategically, along with West Germany, as a kind of point man for the non-Communist world. Instability in Seoul could tempt Communist North Korea, governed by the less than predictable Kim Il Sung, 75, to launch a military adventure that could draw the U.S. into another Asian war. Though U.S. leverage in South Korea is limited, its stake in the country's future is considerable. Writing in the *New York Times* last November, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer and Edward J. Baker, a Harvard Asian-affairs specialist, declared, "Next to the Middle East, South Korea is probably the part of the world where American interests and world peace are most threatened."

■ **Shoulder to shoulder:** a recent poll taken for the government indicates that 65.2% of respondents are either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with the Chun regime

■ **Shades of Manila:** although church participation is evocative of the People Power revolution in the Philippines, many of the factors that contributed to Marcos' ouster are absent

■ **The President and his anointed successor:** though Roh's selection was hardly a surprise, the ceremonial neatness and finality of the act struck many South Koreans as arrogant



The U.S. has been following the South Korean crisis closely in the hope that Washington can somehow help bring it to an end. Among other statements last week, the State Department counseled against any attempt to forcibly dislodge a group of 500 students who took refuge in Seoul's Myongdong Roman Catholic Cathedral. The protesters eventually left of their own accord. Secretary of State George Shultz, who was attending an ASEAN foreign ministers' conference in Singapore, declared, "Our advice is somehow to resume the process of dialogue between the government and the opposition so that a method of establishing a democratic tradition can be worked out in a mutually agreeable way." Even President Reagan felt obliged to add his concern. According to the *New York Times*, the President sent a letter to Chun urging him to reopen talks with the opposition aimed at reaching a compromise. But Washington seemed reluctant to acknowledge that its own close association with the Chun regime over the years was no small part of the problem or that its historic failure to apply skillful pressure for democratic reforms threatens to worsen an already widespread atmosphere of anti-Americanism in South Korea.

For years South Korea has been a problem waiting to happen. Chun seized power in 1980, moving into the vacuum

created a year earlier by the assassination of President Park Chung Hee, his long-time mentor. The product of a modest rural background, Chun was graduated from South Korea's military academy in 1955, and is a combat veteran of the Viet Nam War. Chun consolidated his hold in a 1981 presidential election that was conducted under martial law and excluded all but token opposition candidates. Even by South Korea's standards of political legitimacy, the former army general was widely regarded as a usurper. In 1980 Chun was among those in the South Korean high command who ordered heavily armed troops to quell a popular uprising in the city of Kwangju, resulting in at least 180 deaths. He has been blamed for, though he was not personally involved in, a series of financial scandals, including several that implicated members of his family. "Because Chun lacked legitimacy, he had to build power through money and through violence," said a South Korean university economist. "This has brought on corruption and the use of the police and security forces to secure his position."

What legitimacy Chun does possess he owes in part to solid support from the Reagan Administration. In 1981 Chun became one of the first foreign heads of state to be received by the new U.S. President, Richard Walker, a former U.S. Am-



bassador to Seoul, recently described the 1985 South Korean parliamentary elections, which were criticized by many observers as having been weighted in the government's favor, as "generally free and fair." The current U.S. ambassador, former CIA Official James R. Lilley, testified at his Senate confirmation that he regarded South Korea's national security as more important than democratic reforms. The Reagan Administration, its critics say, urges Chun to move toward democracy but fails to complain when he refuses to budge. Said a student in Seoul: "If America does not change its attitude, the anti-Americanism here will grow."

Chun promised from the outset that he would serve only a single seven-year term as President. He agreed to open negotiations on a series of constitutional and electoral reforms. The parliamentary opposition, led by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam (see following story), had as its main goal the abolition of South Korea's electoral college, a panel of more than 5,000 elected delegates that chooses the President. Instead, the opposition wanted direct elections for a chief executive. The electoral-college system favors the ruling party, according to its critics. Since an elector is allowed to change his announced vote at the last minute, they say, the government

can easily get its way through bribes and the promise of favors.

The Democratic Justice Party, on the other hand, preferred a parliamentary rather than a presidential form of government. Looking ahead to the possibility that they could become a minority in the next election, party leaders decided a parliamentary system could still allow its leaders to retain control of Parliament. One method: the government party can buy off minor parties to get enough votes to counter a split opposition. One segment of the opposition was amenable to the parliamentary idea, but negotiations dragged on for months without reaching a compromise, and both sides can be blamed for obstinacy. But Chun angered the opposition when, on April 13, he abruptly announced that bargaining on the reforms would cease until after the Olympic Games. By that time, conveniently for the government, the new President scheduled to take office next February will have been long since installed, with a mandate to serve until 1995. "Chun mistakenly defined democracy as the transfer of power from one authoritarian military man to another," says a South Korean academic.

The student protest movement, meanwhile, was in the throes of reorganization. In their demonstrations last fall, the marchers had been discredited in the

eyes of many South Koreans by their use of ultra-radical slogans, which the government shrewdly equated with support for North Korea. But over the winter the students toned down their rhetoric. The two most popular slogans currently in use are "*Tokchae Tadol!*" (Down with the dictatorship!) and "*Hohun Tadol!*" (Down with the decision not to amend the constitution!). The latest scandal in the confrontation belongs to the government: police admitted they had tortured to death a Seoul University student during interrogation and then tried to cover up the incident, prompting Chun last month to shake up his Cabinet.

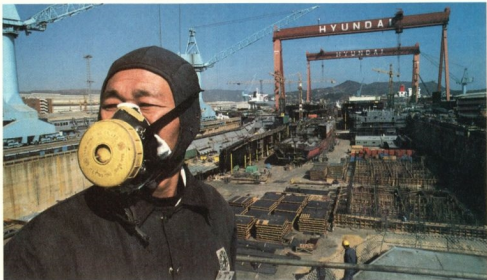
The culmination of Chun's missteps was his decision to anoint his successor, a classmate at the military academy, before some 7,000 delegates at a Democratic Justice Party convention in Seoul on June 10. Though Roh's selection was hardly a surprise, even to the opposition, the ceremonial neatness and finality of the act, represented by the self-confident, almost cocky, scene of the two men with hands raised high, struck many South Koreans as extremely arrogant. Complains a 24-year-old medical student at Seoul National University: "The Korean people want a President who is elected by the Korean people."

The students have found influential allies for their cause in South Korea's reli-

World

SEOUL—BLACK STAR

■ **Builder of both ships and cars, Hyundai has shaken the U.S. auto industry with its Excel, which has sold 168,800 units since first appearing in the U.S. last year**



gious communities, including the Buddhists and the large Protestant denominations. The Roman Catholic Church, though it accounts for only about 5% of the country's 42 million people, has also grown increasingly outspoken in its calls for reform. Following the voluntary evacuation of Myongdong Cathedral by 500 student occupiers last week, Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou Hwan, the Archbishop of Seoul, offered a Mass for the nation there. Some 3,000 people, many of them middle class and middle aged, filled the church to overflowing. At least 5,000 others remained outside despite a late spring cloudburst. Said Cardinal Kim: "The government must return to the negotiating table after retracting the April 13 decision to postpone the debates on democratic constitutional reform."

The Catholic connection is often cited by South Korean dissidents as one of several similarities between their movement and the church-aided People Power that swept Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos out of office 15 months ago. Other alleged parallels include U.S. backing for the Chun government and the high level of moral outrage that animates the opposition. But the two cases are hardly comparable. South Korea's highly disciplined army is considered unlikely to defect to the opposition side, as its counterpart did in the Philippines. In addition, many of the economic and social factors that contributed to the Philippine revolution—the wide disparities in wealth, the parlous state of the economy, the inextinguishable Communist insurgency—are absent in South Korea. Write Reichsauer and Baker: "In the Philippines . . . the political situation was more confused and power was less concentrated on one group."

Even though People Power may not be about to triumph in South Korea, the

popularity of the Chun government, never very high, is dwindling fast. According to Selig Harrison, a Korea scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a recent poll taken for the government by the daily *Kyunghyang Shinmun* indicated that 65.2% of respondents were either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with the Chun regime; only 21.7% described themselves as "satisfied." Like most other news that portrays the government in an unflattering light, the survey was suppressed.

Those high levels of discontent are remarkable in a society that has progressed from poverty to prosperity in just over a generation. The country boasts a literacy rate of 98%, one of the world's highest, and one-third of its high school graduates go to college. More than 80% of South Koreans are city dwellers, up from 43% in 1963. Per capita income has risen from \$105 a year in 1965 to \$2,300 today. Though that is about \$1,000 less than the level achieved by Taiwan, which has reached a roughly comparable stage of development, South Koreans are generally well off by Asian standards.

The economy's current boom is fed by a burst of exports. During the first four months of 1987, shipments of South Korean electronics, textiles, automobiles and other products soared by 37.2% over the same period last year. The Hyundai Excel, introduced in the U.S. last year, sold an astonishing 168,800 units, twice the original projection, to become the most successful new car import in U.S. automotive history. Last week General Motors introduced its new Pontiac LeMans, a model manufactured for the Detroit carmaker by the giant South Korean conglomerate Daewoo. Ranked as Washing-

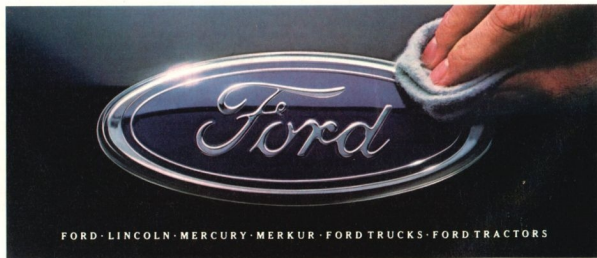
ton's seventh largest trading partner, South Korea last year registered a \$7.6 billion trade surplus with the U.S. as well as its first positive overall trade balance.

Despite such success, the South Korean economy faces some enduring problems. The country financed its industrial explosion with \$43 billion in foreign borrowings, up from only \$8.4 billion a decade ago. That is the fourth largest debt burden of any developing nation. So far South Korea has had no difficulty meeting its interest payments, unlike some other heavy borrowers, but critics of the country's high-debt strategy charge that it will keep Seoul dependent on ever expanding export markets. Moreover, much of South Korea's manufacturing output relies on technology and parts imported mostly from Japan and assembled in Korea to take advantage of low labor costs (average hourly wage for autoworkers: \$2.50, vs. \$12.50 in Japan). Imports of foreign manufactured parts do little to develop South Korea's technological base.

South Korean officials worry that the dizzying rise in imports may be too much of a good thing. Domestically, the spurt in overseas sales threatens to set off an unwelcome and potentially dangerous round of inflation, which is running at a low 2% annually. Overseas, South Korea's rising trade surpluses with the U.S. and other countries have prompted calls for protectionist countermeasures. Many of the proposals are motivated not simply by economic considerations but also by distaste for the Chun regime. Last week bills were introduced in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives calling for the elimination of \$2.2 billion of duty-free and preferential trade benefits for South Korean products unless the country makes solid gains in democratic reforms and the protection of human rights.

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World

NOBELLI—J. & PICTURES

■ **Living the good life:** the country boasts a literacy rate of 98%, one of the world's highest; one-third of its high school graduates go to college



Officials in Seoul have begun to acknowledge the potential danger of U.S. protectionist sentiment. Beginning in July, South Korean exporters will observe "voluntary" restraints on shipments to the U.S. of ten sensitive items, including videocassette recorders, television sets and microwave ovens. "I could not have suggested this export-cutting program six months ago," says Trade and Industry Minister Rha Woong Bae. "I would have been called a traitor."

As Chun faces the gravest political crisis of his career, he has remained resolutely silent, conferring with top aides inside the Blue House, his official residence. Furthermore, perhaps to keep the students and their supporters in the opposition off-balance, he has allowed contradictory hints to be dropped about his next moves. One moment his associates are whispering darkly that a new crackdown is imminent. The next they are suggesting that talks with the opposition might be reopened. At week's end South Koreans thus had little idea what to expect in the immediate future.

One possibility would be for the government to find some way of reaching a compromise on the constitutional issue, or at least on electoral reform. Roh, who is thought to be a bit more flexible than Chun, implied such a solution when he told a group of South Korean reporters, "Our party will work out measures to cope with the present situation, respecting as much as possible public opinion and the people's aspirations as demonstrated in recent developments." An unnamed Democratic Justice Party official widely quoted in the Seoul press also seemed to indicate that Chun was backpedaling on the constitutional question, saying that if the charter could be rewritten by September, "it would not make our schedule invalid." The only reason that Chun originally foreclosed any such revision in

April, he added lamely, was that it "hardly seemed possible because of the split-up of the opposition party."

Opposition Leader Kim Young Sam called on Chun to "rescind the April 13 decision" and proposed talks between himself and the President. But Kim placed conditions on such a meeting: the release of some 1,500 demonstrators still in jail and the lifting of Kim Dae Jung's ten-week-old house arrest. Short of complying with those stipulations, Chun might submit the issue of whether to amend the constitution to a referendum, which it would almost certainly win. That would allow the President to let the matter be settled by popular will without forcing him explicitly to back down from the decision of April 13. Yet even that solution would be seen as a compromise, perhaps even a retreat—concepts that run counter to age-old tradition in South Korean public life.

Conversely, the government could decide to crack down hard on the protesters. That possibility became more than idle speculation Friday night during a six-minute television address by Prime Minister Lee Han Key. Warning that "violent and illegal activities will not gain genuine democratic development desired by all citizens," Lee added, "Should it become impossible to restore law-and-order through [self-restraint] alone, it would be inevitable for the government to make an extraordinary decision." He did not elaborate, nor did he need to. An "extraordinary decision" could only mean emergency government powers, perhaps even martial law.

Chun has shown that he is capable of taking such measures. Following the 1980 Kwangju uprising, as defense commander he helped preside over eight months of martial law. A new crackdown would obviously please hard-liners in the military,

who have long warned that the scant gestures toward liberalization so far permitted by Chun would lead to political chaos and who now feel vindicated. But the drawbacks to such a plan are numerous. First, it would be an admission to the world that the South Korean government can sponsor an Olympic Games but cannot exercise control over its own citizens except by using force. A new resort to toughness could also provoke a crisis in South Korea's relations with Washington.

A third outcome, though hardly one that Chun would enjoy contemplating, is a further deterioration in the situation that would lead to the eventual collapse of the government. In that case, the South Korean Army could not be expected to remain on the sidelines and allow the country to drift into chaos. But whatever tumult last week's demonstrations portend, and whatever the level of outrage they revealed, Chun's government still seemed far from collapse.

As the world's attention focused last week on the clouds of pepper gas, frenzies of rock throwing and flashes of bursting Molotov cocktails that seemed to pervade the country, the South Korean flag, known as the Taegukgi, seemed to be everywhere—brandished by crowds of protesters, hung from the newly completed Olympic facilities, fluttering over government buildings. A neat metaphor for the South Korean condition, the flag consists of a circle divided by a wavy line. The upper, red part represents the Yang and the lower, blue part, the Um—the two ancient, opposing symbols of the cosmos, representing fire and water, dark and light, destruction and construction. After pulling itself up from the chaos and rubble of war to a position of wealth and influence among nations, South Korea will now have to decide which half of its divided soul will prevail.

—By William R. Doerner. Reported by Barry Hillenbrand and K.C. Hwang/Seoul

Rebels Without a Pause

Divided but persistent, the opposition awaits its moment



While unrest was sweeping South Korea last week, Kim Dae Jung, the country's most famous opposition politician, stayed home. He had no choice: for the past ten weeks Kim has been under house arrest, his modest two-story residence in a Seoul suburb surrounded by 500 to 600 police. He and the eight aides confined with him can use the telephone and receive domestic newspapers, but no visitors are allowed inside. That isolation is an apt emblem of the country's weak and divided political opposition. A foe of virtually every regime since the South Korean republic was founded, the dissident parties have been persecuted by each military-backed government and denied any real share of power.

Last week's student-led protests could help change that. By demanding free elections, the demonstrators are advancing the formal opposition's most cherished goal. Says Kim Young Sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party, the main opposition faction: "There is no solution to the present crisis unless the government agrees to our demands for a direct presidential election. The government has been driven to the wall."

While many South Koreans believe opponents of President Chun Doo Hwan would win such a vote, others view the opposition with a distrust that borders on disdain. "We don't find the politicians on either side very attractive," says an influential South Korean businessman. "The opposition leaders are appealing only because they favor democracy and oppose this government."

South Koreans have had decades to size up the two principal opposition leaders. Kim Dae Jung, 63, and Kim Young Sam, 59, who are neither related nor particularly close friends, have been active in antigovernment party circles since the 1950s. The older Kim, a stubborn politician and charismatic speaker, won 45% of the vote in the 1971 presidential election. In 1980 he was tried by a military court and sentenced to death for inciting students to rise against the government. After the sentence was first commuted to life in prison and then reduced to 20 years, Kim was permitted to go to the U.S. in 1982. Since his return in 1985, the devoutly Roman Catholic Kim has been banned from political activities and kept under 24-hour surveillance. Yet he remains a powerful force behind the scenes, advising opposition leaders by telephone and devising political strategies.

With Kim Dae Jung under house arrest, Kim Young Sam has assumed a larger role in opposition affairs. A small, lively man who jogs for 45 minutes each morning and serves as a Presbyterian elder, the younger Kim has become highly visible around Seoul. He scuffled briefly with security forces last week when he theatrically

sought access to Kim Dae Jung's house. The encounter won him some publicity and a bruised leg, which he proudly displayed to journalists.

The two Kims can be as rigid and unyielding as President Chun. They showed that last April, when they broke away from what used to be the main opposition faction, the New Korea Democrats, to form the Reunification Party. At issue was a power struggle with Lee Min Woo, a leader of the older party, who was willing to compromise with the government on the shape of national elections in exchange for concessions that included greater press freedom and the release of political prisoners. The Kims' walkout left Lee's New Korea Democrats with a greatly reduced bloc of 22 seats in the 276-seat National Assembly, compared with 69 seats for the Reunification Democrats.

Ironically, the Kims and Chun share some views. While the opposition leaders demand a full range of basic democratic freedoms, they largely agree with Chun on economic and foreign policies. The Kims would preserve the government and military bureaucracies, and make no major foreign policy shifts. Nor would they disband the giant trading houses that have helped propel South Korea's rapid growth. "We can live with the opposition's economic program," says one businessman.

Such similarities have led some student

radicals to regard the opposition and the government as virtually indistinguishable. "The Reunification Party is not the same as my movement," says one demonstrator. "They want to have power and hold political office. We want only to bring democracy and freedom."

The recent unrest, however, has brought the opposition and the students closer together. "We do need the party to help us organize," concedes a young demonstrator. Operating under the umbrella of the newly formed National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution, students and Reunification Party leaders have joined with church and human-rights groups to plan many of the recent protests. Government forces have responded by arresting 13 top Reunification Democrats, including Vice President Yang Soon Jik.

The opposition's bond with the students remains fragile. "Both the government and its opponents face serious dilemmas," says William Gleysteen, U.S. Ambassador to South Korea from 1978 to 1981. "The opposition may enjoy the spectacle of a widespread antigovernment movement, but it has no control over the demonstrators. The students may be antigovernment, but they do not necessarily support the opposition politicians. The best way out of this dilemma is for both the opposition and the government to ease the tension and begin direct talks." That might end the street violence, but finding a set of concessions the opposition can agree on could prove more difficult.

—By John Greenwald. Reported by Oscar Chiang/New York and Barry Hillenbrand/Seoul



SEUL—BLACK STAR



■ At home: Kim Dae Jung tends his garden with the help of aides while under house arrest

■ On the road: Kim Young Sam begins each day with a 45-minute early-morning jog. "The government," he says, "has been driven to the wall"

A Symbol of Pride and Concern

Tear gas clouds the Olympics, but the Games will probably go on



For the past six years, South Korea has labored to make the 1988 Summer Olympic Games—the 24th of the modern Olympiad—

into a statement of the country's arrival as a sophisticated and confident middle power. But amid last week's tear gas and flaming Molotov cocktails, the linked rings of the Olympic flag had become not only a symbol of national aspirations but also an emblem of international worry. Around the world, a growing number of sports and political figures were voicing concern about whether South Korea would be able to stage the Games free from boycotts or violence, or indeed whether it should hold them at all. The South Koreans insisted that the Games would go on, and splendidly at that.

So far as the International Olympic Committee, based in Lausanne, Switzerland, is concerned, there is no going back on the 1981 decision to give the Games to South Korea. Said I.O.C. Spokeswoman Michele Verdier last week: "The Games have been awarded to Seoul, and there is absolutely no change in our position." Only an "act of war," she said, might change the committee's view. Verdier has solid precedent on her side: the quadrennial Summer Games have been suspended only three

times—in 1916, 1940 and 1944—and in each case because of a world conflict.

But even though the Olympics do not begin until Sept. 17, 1988, I.O.C. member nations, including the U.S., are watching the current turmoil in South Korea carefully. Says George Miller, executive director of the U.S. Olympic Committee, who is worried about the future safety of his athletes: "We're not yet at the hand-wringing stage. But anytime there are disruptions in a country, naturally there are levels of concern." Willi Daume, a West German I.O.C. member who presided over the 1972 Munich Games, thinks that removing the Olympics from Seoul at this stage could even heat up the deteriorating situation in South Korea. On the other hand, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley last week offered his city, site of the 1984 Games, as an alternative to Seoul.

On the American political front, at least one presidential hopeful has focused on the Games. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, in the full flight of his still undeclared candidacy, last week told Kim Kyung-Won, South Korea's Ambassador to Washington, that he might urge a U.S. boycott of the Games. Jackson demanded that the political situation in Seoul be stabilized and that the regime improve its human-

rights record. But a ranking White House official last week declared that the Reagan Administration would never threaten a boycott like the one the U.S. organized against Moscow in 1980 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

In fact, there is still a faint but perceptible chance that Moscow might try something similar this time around. Even though the Soviets have announced unconditional plans to send a full team of athletes to the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, they have not yet given such a commitment for Seoul. Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov last week referred to a Jan. 17 deadline by which countries must accept the Olympic invitation. "When we approach that deadline," said Gerasimov, "our sportsmen will give their answer." If the Soviets should decide to stay home, other Communist countries might decide to do the same. Despite Moscow's suspenseful attitude, however, the Soviets are expected to show up in Seoul.

For all the clouds on the horizon, the Seoul Olympics still promise to be perhaps the best-organized and best-equipped event ever. Over the past decade, South Korea has spent some \$3 billion on preparations for the Games. Moreover, it finished the work well ahead



■ Centerpiece of South Korea's \$3 billion, decade-long investment in national self-assertion: the 100,000-seat Olympic Stadium in Seoul, scheduled site of 1988's opening and closing ceremonies, and track-and-field events

■ Special police keeping a vigil around a sports complex on the outskirts of the capital. Says a businessman: "The national honor demands that we fulfill our commitment to the Games. If we do not, our credit will be lost forever"



of schedule, whereas at Montreal in 1976 the readiness of the facilities was in doubt right down to the wire. The graceful, 100,000-seat Olympic Stadium on the bank of the Han River, site of opening and closing ceremonies as well as track-and-field events, was finished in 1984. Eight miles south of the city center, the 135-acre Seoul Sports Complex (completed in 1986) includes a boxing arena, swimming hall and 50,000-seat baseball stadium. Some two miles away to the east, the 750-acre Olympic Park will be the site for gymnastics, fencing and cycling. Many of the facilities have already received a shakedown, having been used for last September's tenth Asian Games. Participants in that extravaganza were lavish in their praise.

Where urban infrastructure is concerned, the government has taken great pains to make attending the Olympics a pleasant experience. Seoul's subway system was revamped in anticipation of some 340,000 foreign spectators; it will whisk visitors comfortably from their downtown hotels to event sites. Restaurants and hotels around the capital have been refurbished. About 100,000 Korean volunteers have signed up to serve as guides, translators and stadium workers. As this week's disturbances have painfully illustrated, the government is anxious about security. That concern will be heavily on display at the Games. Uniformed policemen and military counter-terrorist squads will be deployed at Olympic sites.

Such worries are justified, and not merely because of the scale of the ongoing South Korean civil disturbances. In the past two decades, unexpected violence

and the fear of it have become an ugly Olympic specter. In 1968 more than 400 protesters were killed in rioting just days before the Mexico City Games. And in 1972 Palestinian terrorists forever ended complacency when they abducted and murdered eleven members of the Israeli team in Munich. The U.S. and some 60 other nations boycotted the 1980 Games in Moscow, and four years later the Soviet Union and 16 other Communist countries retaliated by staying away from Los Angeles because, they claimed, security was lax.

At Seoul there will be another thorny consideration: North Korea. The Communist government in Pyongyang has insisted that it should be host to fully half the 1988 Olympic events on its soil—and keep 50% of any profits from the Games. Its failure to get anywhere with such demands has caused Pyongyang to hint frequently that it will boycott the Games, perhaps pulling the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries along in sympathy. The I.O.C. position is that the Olympics are awarded to a city, not a nation, and that the athletic events cannot therefore be shared. When Munich was host to the 1972 Games, the I.O.C. points out, it did not share events with East Germany.

That position is not fixed, however. I.O.C. President Juan Antonio Samaranch, with a nod from Seoul organizers, has tendered Pyongyang a small piece of the Olympics action with an offer to have North Korea act as host to table-tennis and soccer competitions (both popular sports in Asia), as well as archery events and the 50-km bicycle race. In return Samaranch has demanded that North Ko-

rea open its heavily militarized border to the "Olympic family," including some 7,000 members of the press who are expected to attend the Games. So far, the North has refused the offer, but discussions are expected to continue at an I.O.C. meeting next month.

South Korea fears a Pyongyang boycott because it would increase the chances for violent incidents at the Olympics. Shortly before the start of last year's Asian Games, which North Korea refused to attend, a bomb that authorities believe was the work of North Korean agents exploded at Seoul's Kimpo Airport, killing five people and injuring more than 30. The hope is that if the Soviets and other Communist nations attend the Seoul Games, Pyongyang will avoid causing similar bloody disruptions.

Right now, the most obvious potential for bloodshed involves South Koreans battling South Koreans. But most of the citizenry in that agonized country, from student radicals to conservative businessmen, still believe that South Korea's internal struggles should be suspended for the Games. Precedent gives reason for optimism: although there was serious rioting weeks before the Asian Games began last fall, the few demonstrations planned during the event fizzled, and Koreans united in the effort to produce a spectacular show. Says one antigovernment businessman: "The national honor demands that we fulfill our commitment to the Games. If we do not, our credit will be lost forever." That credit is still far from exhausted. The Games may be tarnished by the ongoing violence, but they are still expected to shine brightly in 1988. —By J.D. Reed. Reported by David Beckwith/Washington, with other bureaus

Scenes From a Neighbor Kingdom

North Korea is frozen in time, in ideology and in its prospects

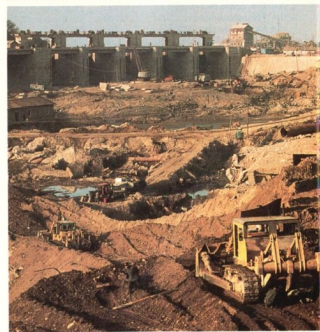


Only 27 miles north of embattled Seoul, across the 38th parallel, is another Korea, in every sense an opposite to the turbulent, economically dynamic South. Hunkered behind miles of barbed wire and minefields, Communist North Korea is a constant,

sometimes threatening presence in South Korean life. Spartan, plodding, more regimented than all but a few other Communist nations, it seems to act with one corporate mind. That mind belongs to Kim Il Sung, 75, the "Great Leader" who has been whipping North Korea into a model Communist state for 39 years. Kim's stable despotism is backed by an 885,000-strong army, navy and air force, the world's sixth largest fighting force.

Ever since the three-year conflict that left more than 1 million Koreans and Americans dead, every stress and strain in relations between North and South has carried the possibility of another conflagration. The latest tensions surround North Korea's ongoing construction of a huge dam just north of the 151-mile Demilitarized Zone. South Koreans are convinced that, once completed, the dam will pose a major danger to Seoul. They fear that it will either collapse because of poor workmanship or, in a darker view, be deliberately burst by the Communists, perhaps as a prelude to invasion or in an attempt to disrupt the upcoming Olympics. In response, the South Koreans have begun construction of a countervailing "peace dam" that would trap any released waters and send them back north.

South Korean suspicions about the North are matched only by uncertainties about the country's future after the Great Leader dies. Kim's eldest son, Kim Jong Il, 46, has been designated as his father's political heir, but there have been rumblings of discord within the North Korean Communist Party about the succession. Until the senior Kim dies, little is likely to change. His portrait peers from virtually every room in every home, office, school and hotel, and his statue decorates most corners. In the streets, North Koreans keep their conversations to a murmur and move at a uniform pace. As the following images show, French Photographer Yann Layma found Kim's kingdom to be a place frozen in time, in ideology and in its prospects.





■ Lunchtime in Pyongyang: with cars and bicycles reserved for official use, the streets tend to be eerily silent and empty in the capital city's modern housing district

■ Construction site of the intimidating dam at Nampo that has left many South Koreans in fear of floods, invasions and major Olympic disruptions

■ Amid regimentation, agriculture is often bountiful: a cabbage harvest in the country's southern region







■ Under the steady gaze of Communist Leader Kim, a worker plies her trade in a glassware factory

■ At a high school in the capital city, students study a peculiar blend of Marxism and Korean nationalism that stresses economic self-sufficiency and abiding loyalty to the leader

■ Colorful propaganda posters brighten Pyongyang's spotlessly clean avenues

■ In a spartan room on a model farm, a peasant watches a daily three-hour political program that explains and exalts Kim's 999 published works

■ A standard-issue portrait of the ubiquitous Great Leader on display at a railway depot in the rural north



World

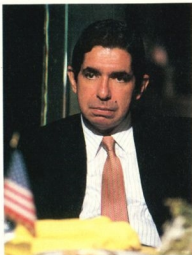
CENTRAL AMERICA

Potholes on the Road to Peace

U.S. concerns hamper a plan and delay a regional summit

For months the Presidents of five Central American countries had been signaling new hopes for peace in their embattled region. The focus for that optimism was a proposal they planned to discuss at a June 25 regional summit meeting in Guatemala City. But last week, following a flutter of U.S. diplomacy in the region, the peace initiative appeared to collapse. Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte, Washington's closest ally in Central America, demanded a postponement of the meeting. Meanwhile, President Reagan held a hastily arranged, one-hour session at the White House with the author of the peace plan, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez. After the meeting, the White House noted that Reagan had "concerns" about details of the proposal, while Arias stated that there had been agreement "on the end . . . but not the means."

Even before the White House statement, charges had been flying throughout Central America that the U.S. was once again working to stymie the convoluted regional peace process. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, whose Sandinista government is fighting off the attacks of U.S.-supported *contra* rebels, accused the U.S. of a "direct attempt to kill any possibility of a negotiated settlement in the region." Ortega once again charged the U.S. with foiling peaceful negotiations in order to "isolate Nicaragua



Costa Rica's Arias in a somber mood

Agreement on ends, but not on means.

and launch a direct invasion against our country." The Nicaraguan President declared that he would not agree to a summit postponement and would boycott any future meeting.

U.S. officials, on the other hand, argued that the problem with the June 25 meeting was a lack of advance preparation that could be solved with only a few weeks' delay. But that claim rang hollow.

Conceded one U.S. diplomat: "We panic at the thought of a Central American agreement with the Sandinistas."

Arias describes his ten-point proposal as a "risk for peace." As he sees it, the plan is a "balanced proposal" that, at best, could bring an end to nearly a decade of bloodshed in the region. At worst it would call the Sandinistas' bluff, perhaps exposing them as the hard-line Communists they frequently insist they are not (*see box*).

First aired in February, the Arias proposal echoes many of the items included in the so-called Contadora process, a four-year, Latin American effort to negotiate a Central American settlement that still sputters on without appreciable result. Both plans call for a region-wide ceasefire and an end to outside military assistance to all guerrilla groups, including the rebels in El Salvador and the *contras*. Both schemes propose a general amnesty for insurgents, followed by a peaceful political dialogue between opposition forces and incumbent governments. The Arias plan also follows Contadora in calling for pluralistic democracy in all Central American countries. But the Arias scheme is more specific: it would require all five nations to begin holding free elections within six months of agreeing to the accord.

A more important innovation in the Arias scheme is that it calls for a ceasefire to precede the intended reconciliation in each Central American country. As far as Nicaragua is concerned, that amounts to recognition of a long-standing Sandinista refusal to talk seriously with the *contras* while they continue fighting.

Washington continues to insist, on the

"We Have to Be Realistic"

Prior to his U.S. visit, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez spoke to TIME Correspondent John Moody about the Sandinistas, the *contras* and his peace plan. Excerpts:

On whether his plan protects U.S. interests. We insist there will not be a lasting peace in the region if there is no democracy, as long as the people of Central America cannot freely choose their leaders. The only reason the *contras* are not included in the negotiations is that the Nicaraguan government would not accept this condition. We have to be realistic. If we want to achieve peace we cannot establish conditions that we know are unacceptable. It is possible that the peace proposal is not ideal for the *contras*. But they have agreed with it.

On the Sandinista regime. I think that, after more than 40 years of the Somoza dictatorship, the Nicaraguan people deserve something better than another dictatorship of the opposite extreme. In the long run, the consolidation of a Communist system in Nicaragua also becomes a threat to peace. I have no doubt that the Communist government of Nicaragua is not the best for my country. If there's one country the Sandinistas, given their expansionist ideology, must try to discredit as an oasis of democracy and peace, it is mine.

On Sandinista cooperation in peacemaking. If we arrive at an agreement and Nicaragua does not fulfill the obligations of the agreement, then it will put an end to this ambiguity which has permitted the Sandinistas to receive the support of both democratic and totalitarian governments.

On the U.S.-backed *contra* war. As long as the war goes on, it will be impossible to demand that the government in Nicaragua advance toward democracy and political pluralism. The *contras* are the excuse for everything: to eliminate all traces of liberty, to make the state more dictatorial and to justify the failure of a centralized economy.

On the war's effect on Costa Rica. We have 150,000 Nicaraguans living with us. We must provide them with jobs, education, health care. From that point of view, it's urgent to end this war.

On a Communist takeover in his country. The day will come when, thanks to the Sandinistas, it will be easier to find a giraffe, a hippopotamus or an elephant here than a member of the Costa Rican Communist Party.

On whether he would ever sanction a U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua. No. Just plain no.

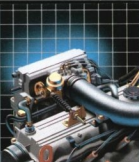


...FEELS MORE
GERMAN THAN
ANY OTHER
JAPANESE CAR
WE HAVE DRIVEN."

Car and Driver Magazine



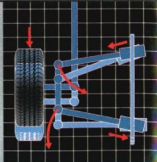
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mazda

World

other hand, that Nicaragua must embrace a democratic political process before any cease-fire takes place. "The Arias plan lets the Sandinistas off the hook," complains a U.S. official in the region. "It gives them a cease-fire in an increasingly debilitating war on the basis of only vague promises for the future." Washington maintains that only continued military pressure on Managua will produce any meaningful change. "The war weakens the Sandinistas' ability to govern," says a senior Washington official. "They have not been able to consolidate their hold on the country." The Administration balks at the plan's vague verification procedures and its failure to guarantee that the *contras* will be included in the democratic dialogue that would follow a cease-fire.

Until last week nearly all Central American leaders—government officials and opposition politicians alike—had voiced enthusiasm for the Arias scheme. Among other things, they noted that unlike the stalled Contadora effort, which is sponsored by Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia, Arias' plan is completely homegrown. Even the civilian leadership of the *contras* has offered qualified support. "The plan forces the Sandinistas to choose between continued war and returning to the [democratic] promises they made in 1979," says Contra Leader Alfredo Cesar. In March the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 97 to 1, also embraced the "thrust" of the plan.

The flurry of endorsements reflects a mounting feeling that, among other things, the anti-Sandinista effort of the *contras* is in grave danger of collapse. A chief reason, of course, is the Iran-*contra* hearings in Washington, which have badly tarnished U.S. policy in Central America and cast doubt on the Reagan Administration's ability to sustain support for the rebels. A watershed for that support will appear in September, when the Administration approaches Congress for an additional \$105 million in *contra* aid. In its statement following the Reagan-Arias meeting, the White House asserted the U.S. President's intention to "continue to apply pressure on the Sandinista regime to democratize," and to seek "renewed funding from the Congress." Some experts say the Administration will be lucky to get some, let alone all, of the requested funds.

A more immediate question is whether the delayed Central American summit meeting will ever take place. After hasty consultation, the Presidents of Honduras and Guatemala suggested last week that the parley be rescheduled for August 6-7. But it seems unlikely that all of the concerned parties, Ortega in particular, will agree. Even if the Latin Presidents do gather in Guatemala City at that time, however, last week's confusing diplomatic tango has seriously muddled the peace-making waters.

—By Jill Smolowe.

Reported by John Moody/San José, with other bureaus

LEBANON

The Taking of a Journalist

An American television reporter is kidnapped in Beirut

Two years ago ABC Television Correspondent Charles Glass was the envy of his colleagues for his up-close coverage of the TWA hostage drama at Beirut International Airport. Last week Glass, who is on a leave of absence from ABC, became a victim of Lebanese terrorists. On a scruffy seaside road, less than a mile from that same airport, Glass,



Glass in London

36, was ambushed by four carloads of bearded gunmen. After being struck with rifle butts, he was stuffed into the trunk of one of the assailants' autos. Dragged off with him was Ali Osseiran, 40, son of Lebanese Defense Minister Adel Osseiran, and their bodyguard-driver. Glass became the ninth U.S. citizen and 24th foreigner to be held hostage in Lebanon.

No Lebanese faction took responsibility for the abduction. Nonetheless, it was widely assumed the thugs were members of Hizbullah, the radical, pro-Iranian Shi'ite Muslim group that is suspected of

involvement in most of the kidnappings that have occurred in Lebanon. Glass, who has spent a total of six years in Lebanon and was researching a book on the Middle East, was traveling near a *husseiniyeh*, or religious center, run by Hizbullah when he was taken.

The abduction was a particular embarrassment to Syrian President Hafez Assad, whose forces ostensibly control the Muslim half of Beirut. Glass was the first person to be kidnapped since 7,500 Syrian troops entered the city on Feb. 22, and to make matters worse, Syrian troops manned a checkpoint just 350 yds. from where the abduction took place. Moreover, the elder Osseiran, head of a powerful Shi'ite clan in Lebanon, is an important Syrian ally in Lebanese politics. Assad's troops began an intensive search for the latest kidnap victims, but by week's end they had turned up no trace of Glass and his well-connected friend. ■

HIGH SEAS

They Couldn't Hit a . . . Oops!

An East-West naval engagement takes place off the Baltic coast

Though only half a mile away Warsaw Pact ships were firing at targets, the crew on the 300-ft. West German navy tender *Neckar* exhibited no alarm. Nothing ever happened during routine surveillance missions. So, midmorning in the Baltic Sea, the NATO craft sat passively while two 600-ton Soviet-made corvettes of the Polish navy blasted practice shots at unmanned drones.

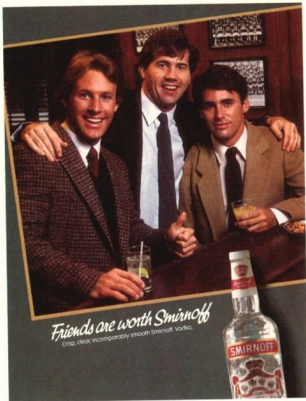
Suddenly a burst of fire hit the water just 16 ft. from the *Neckar*. Then a cor-

vette struck the German craft with eight 30-mm shells, setting her stern gun turret afire and punching a hole in her hull beneath the waterline. Three crewmen were injured. After the fire was put out and the leak plugged, the *Neckar* limped into its home port of Kiel. To prevent damage to NATO-Warsaw Pact relations, Bonn described the attack as an accident, perhaps caused by the poor aim of Polish gunners. Warsaw began an investigation into the occurrence. ■



Something other than routine: a West German officer points out the results of Polish gunnery

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World Notes



Italy: Craxi on voting night



Soviet Union: parents visit a flighty son



India: Gandhi sees little support at Sonapat

AUSTRIA

The Prisoner Breaks Out

To many Austrians, President Kurt Waldheim is known as the most prominent prisoner in Vienna, as a result of the worldwide ostracism that has followed accusations of his involvement in war crimes and knowledge of the deportation to death camps of 40,000 Greek Jews during World War II. Attempts by Waldheim's staff to solicit invitations to foreign capitals have almost all been futile; the former United Nations Secretary-General is even formally banned, as an undesirable alien, from entering the U.S. But last week the prisoner of Vienna finally got a break with the announcement that he would pay an official visit to Pope John Paul II in Rome this week.

In announcing the visit, the Vatican said the meeting had been requested by the Austrian government and routinely granted. The Holy See noted its long-standing good relations with Austria and pointed to the Pope's record of condemning Nazi crimes. Many Jewish groups in the U.S. and Europe, however, felt differently. Some compared the meeting to one between the Pope and Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat in 1982 and warned that the latest visit would set back Jewish-Roman Catholic relations.

ITALY

Going for No. 47

For the Communists it was a humiliating defeat. For the Christian Democrats and Socialists it was an uplifting victory. But for the citizens of Italy last week's two-day election meant more of the same gridlock that has produced 46 governments since World War II, and yet another battle for the premiership, which is what triggered the election to begin with.

The Communists took 26.6% of the vote, a 3.3-percentage-point drop from the 1983 elections and their worst showing in 20 years. The Socialists increased their share of the vote by nearly three points, more than any other party, to 14.3%. The Christian Democrats remain the largest party, with 34.3% of the ballots cast, up slightly from 1983. Socialist ex-Premier Bettino Craxi and his archrival, Christian Democratic Leader Ciriaco de Mita, are again expected to go to the mat over which of them should be the new Prime Minister.

SOVIET UNION

Rust Remover Works Again

Three weeks after West German Flyer Mathias Rust's daring touchdown outside the

Kremlin, another Soviet air-defense official joined the list of the unemployed. Rust's flight was quickly followed by the ouster of Defense Minister Sergei Sokolov and Air Defense Chief Alexander Koldunov. Last week a report in *Red Star*, the Defense Ministry newspaper, announced the replacement of Marshal Anatoly Konstantinov, commanding officer of the Moscow air-defense district. Four high-ranking officers had been expelled from the Communist Party, *Red Star* added, and other party members would soon be asked to account for their "irresponsibility."

Pilot Rust, held in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison, was permitted to receive two visits from his parents Karl-Heinz and Monika Rust. At week's end, however, no quick resolution of his case was in sight; young Rust may still have to stand trial for violating Soviet airspace.

INDIA

Confirming the Worst Fears

The omens were bad. Campaigning for his ruling Congress (I) Party in Haryana state elections, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived at the supposed party stronghold of Sonapat for a rally attended by only 5,000, a pitiful turnout by Indian standards. Last week Gandhi's fears were confirmed

when Haryana's voters handed more than 80% of their legislature's seats to an opposition coalition, slapping Gandhi with his sixth loss in the past seven state elections. At least 15 Cabinet ministers in the incumbent Congress (I) Party state government were among those swept away in the electoral landslide.

FRANCE

The Greatest No-Show Ever

Ever since the trial of Accused Nazi War Criminal Klaus Barbie began in Lyons last May, Defense Attorney Jacques Vergès had threatened to put the conscience of France in the dock. He hinted at possible revelations of French collaboration with the Nazis and of human-rights violations during the Algerian war of the 1950s. Last week Vergès presented his case—and he revealed almost nothing.

Barbie's flamboyant French lawyer took just one day to interview six witnesses, including a former French collaborator who implied that the former Lyons Gestapo chief was just following orders when he killed and deported hundreds of Jews and members of the Resistance. Attempts to resurrect French atrocities in Algeria were shrugged off as irrelevant by the court's presiding judge. Prosecutors will now begin their summations.

Economy & Business

Destination: Europe

After a year of caution, American tourists are crossing the Atlantic again

*Postcard from California—
Summer 1986:*

Dear Rolf: We heard about Chernobyl, and we certainly hope you and your family are all right. I'm sure you'll understand why we won't be dropping in to see you in Stockholm next month after all. With those crazy hijackers, airport bombers and high prices, we're staying home this year. Besides, Europe may be exciting, but Yosemite in the moonlight can be pretty appealing too.

Postcard from Paris—Summer 1987:

Dad, you wouldn't believe it! There are Americans all over the place. We heard practically nothing but Midwestern accents at the Tower of London, and today, on the Champs-Élysées here in Paris, these neat French teenagers were walking around wearing badges that said I SPEAK ENGLISH. These people really love Americans!

What a difference a year makes. In 1986 memories of brutal hijackings were painfully fresh, and the headlines were filled with reports of a radioactive cloud drifting westward over Europe from the damaged Soviet nuclear reactor at Chernobyl. Speculation abounded that Libyan Dictator Muammar Gaddafi might take bloody revenge for the U.S. bombing of Tripoli on American tourists abroad. No wonder Americans looked closer to home for vacation spots. One year later, as fears about safety in Europe have faded, Americans are grabbing their passports, packing their guidebooks and crossing the Atlantic again in huge waves. Tour operators, airlines, hotels and travel ministries are reporting heavy bookings and bustling business from London to Lucerne.

At least 25% more Americans are expected to vacation in Western Europe this year than in 1986, and the numbers may go much higher. During the first four months of this year, Lufthansa Airlines carried 32% more passengers from the U.S. to Europe than it did a year ago, and warm weather had yet to arrive on much of the Continent. Sales of American Express vacations in Europe are up 70% over last year, suggesting the possibility that 1987 may come close to matching the record travel year of 1985, when 6.5 million Americans spent \$6 billion on European travel. Says Helmut Klee, deputy director general of the Swiss National Tourist Office: "Two months ago, we

would have hardly dared to predict such a spectacular turnaround."

The upsurge is all the more remarkable in light of the 20% decline in the value of the U.S. dollar against an average of European currencies since early 1986. That has made almost everything more expensive for an American in Europe. In Rome, for example, a double room for three nights at the King Hotel near the Spanish Steps that cost \$246 last year now goes for \$333. A taxi ride from a hotel on London's Hyde Park to the West End theater district, which cost about \$4.50 two years ago, now runs closer to \$5.75. During the same period, dinner for two at a moderately priced restaurant in Paris has gone up from about \$26 to \$36.

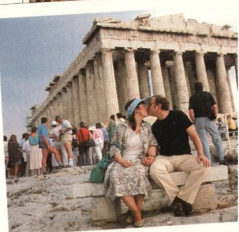
The slump of the once robust dollar has been offset in part by bargain air fares across the Atlantic. Roundtrip tickets to such destinations as Paris, London, Vienna and Frankfurt can be found in some U.S. cities for as little as half the normal roundtrip coach fares. The cheapest tickets, though, are often restricted to certain dates and advance purchase.

Whether they fly coach or first class, Yanks are landing in all corners of Europe. In Italy, where tourism accounts for 7% of the gross national product, the splashing Fountain of Trevi in Rome is once more filling up with the coins tossed by sentimental U.S. tourists. The Swiss state railways report that Americans planning vacations in Switzerland bought twice as many rail passes in May as they did a year earlier. The airline SAS reports that tickets from the U.S. to Scandinavia are "basically sold out."

Perhaps nowhere is the resurgence of tourism more dramatic than in Greece, where the number of vacationing Americans plunged by some 70% last year, after the 1985 hijacking of a TWA passenger jet en route from Athens to Rome. The incident was followed by a State Department travel warning regarding security problems at the airport there. Now flights to

Athens through mid-July are heavily booked on TWA and sold out on Olympic Airways, the Greek flag carrier. Epirotiki, the largest operator of island-hopping cruise ships in Greece, is predicting a tripling of its business in 1987.

After last year's disaster, the European travel industry launched major U.S. advertising campaigns that stressed images of homey warmth and welcome. The European Travel Commission, a consortium of 23 member nations, is spending \$50 million this year to promote Europe to Americans as "one of the safest travel destinations," while the Swiss National Tourist Office has mounted a \$1 million publicity campaign that stresses Switzerland's "stability and tranquility." A \$3 million advertising blitz touting the pleasures of Greece includes a series of TV commercials, first aired last year, in which such all-American personalities as Cliff Robertson, Lloyd Bridges and Sally



A 1987 photo album: romance at the Parthenon; a stroll in the Vatican; pageantry at Buckingham Palace; aesthetic delights at Monet's home in Giverny, France

Struthers tell their compatriots, "I'm going home . . . to Greece."

Once they get to Europe, visitors will be entertained during the next several months by dozens of special events emphasizing culture, history and heritage. To mark its 750th anniversary, the city of Berlin is hosting a yearlong celebration of exhibitions, concerts, parades and street fairs on both sides of the Wall. Travelers in Britain can choose among such high-spirited events this summer as medieval banquets, historic re-enactments and major arts festivals.

Perhaps most important, security procedures have been tightened all over Europe. The airport in Athens, for example, now bristles with 1,200 security guards—twice the previous number—and many of them work undercover. France, once accused of lax attention toward the movements and activities of suspected terrorists, now requires all visitors to carry a visa. Cost: \$15 for a three-year visa. The bureaucratic inconvenience of obtaining the document does not seem to be deterring tourists. The French consulate in Manhattan has been overwhelmed by a flood of some 2,000 applications a day and has opened a second office to handle the overflow. Jean-Marc Janailiac, director of the French tourist office in New York City, reports that 62% more Americans visited France last month than in May 1986.

Anticipating higher prices abroad, many U.S. travelers are planning some what less elaborate excursions this year and watching costs carefully. Says John Ueberroth, presi-

dent of Minneapolis-based Carlson Travel Group: "Some cut a couple of days off the trip or look for special deals to save money." Catering to the bargain hunters, the New York City-based Inter-Continental hotel chain plans to slash rates by up to 60% next week at 30 of its hotels in 23 European cities and guarantee the prices in dollars. While they are in Europe, Americans seem to be paying closer attention than usual to such expenses as food, entertainment and gifts, which can often add up to half the total cost of the trip. Says Carolyn Bartkus, 22, a Houston homemaker who was visiting London with her husband last week: "We adapt and eat in pubs, like the British do."

The crucial task for the transatlantic traveler is to track down the cheapest possible airline ticket. Because of heavy competition between Pan Am, TWA, British Airways and other carriers, there is excess capacity on some routes. Nonstop flights now depart daily from more than a dozen U.S. cities, including Atlanta, Miami, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Dallas. Next week Continental Airlines will take off over the Atlantic with its Newark-Paris service. The airline is opening with a three-month giveaway: for just \$1 more than the basic \$667 roundtrip coach fare, Continental will throw in five nights in a three-star Paris hotel, a saving of some \$250

a person, based on double occupancy.

Low prices can also be found in the bustling free-for-all of airline discounters. Explains Riaz Dooley, who runs a string of London travel agencies that specialize in cut-rate fares: "An airline ticket is the most perishable commodity in the world. Once the plane takes off, that empty seat becomes dead loss" to the carrier. For that reason, many airlines sell surplus tickets at as little as half price to middlemen known as "consolidators," who typically agree to buy blocks of seats during the slow winter months—when seats on certain routes go begging—in exchange for a supply of cheap tickets in the busy tourist season. The consolidator adds a commission of perhaps 10%, then resells the tickets to travel agencies in the U.S. and other countries. The agencies generally post the fares in plain, boxed ads in the travel sections of newspapers—London: \$190, one way. Paris: \$205. Vienna: \$260.

Some tourism officials fear that Europe is popular now only because, as one Greek travel agent put it, "nothing has happened this year." So a brief wave of anxiety was provoked by terrorist incidents in Rome two weeks ago, when rockets were fired at the British and U.S. embassies and a car bomb went off outside the American compound. But since little damage was done and no one was injured, vacationers took the news in stride. It will apparently take more serious trouble than that to spoil the festive return of Americans to Europe.

—By Janice Castro.
Reported by Jenny Abdo/New York and Mirla Gondicas/Athens



Economy & Business

Cutting Ties to a Troubled Land

The corporate pullout has brought little change to South Africa

As the pressure builds on U.S. companies to leave South Africa, the caravan of departing corporations grows steadily longer. More than 100 U.S. firms have quit the land of apartheid during the past 2½ years, and last week three big names—Citicorp, Ford and ITT—joined the crowd at the exits. The magnitude of the American pullout has raised some crucial and highly controversial questions: What happens to the businesses that U.S. companies abandon? Are South Africa's blacks better or worse off? Has divestiture had any impact on the country's economic and political climate?

On the surface, not much has changed. Familiar American offerings, from Coca-Cola to cars made with General Motors parts, are still available, sold now by the firms that bought former subsidiaries of U.S. companies. Early opponents of divestiture were concerned that the departures of American firms would mean a dramatic loss of jobs for black workers, but that fear has so far proved unjustified. However, advocates of divestiture who hoped that the corporate walkouts would spur the government to reform, even slightly, its policy of apartheid have been sorely disappointed.

Whatever change is taking place, it seemed to be accelerating last week. Ford, which has manufactured cars in South Africa for 63 years, hopes to donate most of its holdings to its predominantly black work force. ITT sold off its small automobile-brake plant. Citicorp, the lone American bank left in South Africa, will sell its 29-year-old subsidiary to First National, the country's largest commercial bank.

These and other departing companies have been under enormous pressure to get out of South Africa. Shareholder groups threatened to dump their stock, while states, cities and counties vowed to deny them contracts and customers pledged to boycott their products. South Africa's political unrest and sluggish economy have also been deterrents to doing business. The resolve of some firms to remain in South Africa weakened two weeks ago when the Rev. Leon Sullivan, who in 1977 wrote a widely accepted set of principles governing responsible investment in South Africa, advocated total corporate withdrawal from the country. He called for U.S.-owned South African businesses to be sold only to those buyers who would promote black ownership.

So far, however, most American firms have sold their holdings to local, white-controlled firms. Buyers include giant conglomerates like the Premier Group, which purchased Dow Chemical's subsidiary, and smaller firms like Northern Engineering, which acquired Eaton's operations. Other U.S. divisions have been sold

to the white South Africans who managed the subsidiary or to foreign firms. Only a few companies, including Eastman Kodak, have completely shut down their operations.

Rarest of all are the deals in which the companies have sold to blacks. Coca-Cola was the first American firm to do so; in March 8,500 of its wholesalers and retailers, 60% of whom are nonwhite, bought one-third of Coke's South African subsidiary. Ford's proposed sell-off could be an-

only scattered layoffs of South African workers. Nonetheless, black joblessness, estimated at 3 million, has increased by up to 300,000 annually over the past three years because of the weak economy. Black trade unionists claim that the wages of black workers have been cut once their American employers have departed. Many black leaders fear far more serious consequences. Says Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland and a longtime critic of divestiture: "If the South African economy is destroyed along with apartheid, we will have to build on the quicksands of deepening poverty." For now, though, divestiture does not seem to have had much effect—positive or negative—on the na-



Assembling a car for Ford, which will leave the country after 63 years



A branch of Citicorp

other such case. The carmaker is negotiating with its employees to put its interests into a trust that represents the company's 4,500 workers, 70% of whom are black.

When American companies sell their subsidiaries, they often arrange to supply their parts or products to the new owners. According to Massachusetts-based Mitchell Investment Management, more than 35% of the 106 U.S. subsidiaries sold in the past 17 months continue to sell their goods through licensing, distribution, franchising or trademark agreements. Firms can find the new way of doing business more profitable: running a subsidiary involves paying expenses for plant and equipment, while licensing arrangements do not. Some critics of apartheid, though, criticize companies for continuing to sell their products after divestiture. Says Marcy Murnighan, president of the social investment services division of Mitchell Investment: "Many of the American companies who said they were pulling out really weren't. These companies still benefit from a business involvement in South Africa."

U.S. divestitures have so far caused

tional economy. Since buyers of American subsidiaries are producing roughly the same output of goods and services as their U.S. predecessors, South Africa's growth rate has been little changed.

Another widespread concern of anti-apartheid activists is that new corporate owners, whether they are local South Africans or foreign employers, will not follow the nondiscriminatory employment practices that were observed by most U.S. businesses. Warns Dr. Oscar Dhomo, Minister of Education in the KwaZulu homeland: "The door that had opened to a life of equal opportunity on the factory floor has suddenly been slammed in the black worker's face."

Some U.S. firms have tried to ease the impact of divestiture by making farewell investments in social programs. Coke pledged to spend \$10 million during the next five years to fund a foundation to assist education and development among South Africa's "disadvantaged." IBM left \$10 million for a literacy program to aid 37,000 black schoolchildren. Many companies that divested their South African holdings had been setting aside some of their earnings for social services, but some

of their successors have refused to take on those commitments.

Still, many blacks support divestiture as a means to pressure the Botha government. A crippled economy, it is hoped, will eventually force the government to make meaningful reforms. Among the defenders of corporate pullouts are the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and leader of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

Yet the government has not wavered from its hard-line policies. A year-old national state of emergency was renewed this month, and restrictions on the press remain in force. A swing to the right in the whites-only May election suggests that few white South Africans are impressed by the corporate departures.



Until last week the lone U.S. bank in Johannesburg

The 193 American companies that remain in South Africa will undoubtedly find it increasingly tough to resist the mounting demands to divest. This year 115 companies have confronted shareholder resolutions calling for withdrawal from South Africa, according to the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Center. At least 38 states, cities and counties have adopted selective contracting and purchasing laws, under which companies seeking municipal contracts can be penalized for their connections to South Africa.

Those firms that have already divested their holdings are sure to face continued demands that they sever all ties to South Africa by refusing to permit their products to be sold in the country. If companies give in and Coke bottles, IBM computers and Ford cars are swept away from the South African scene, corporate divestiture will take on a new meaning. Apartheid will not necessarily crumble, but South Africa could become even more isolated—and unstable—than it is today.

—By Barbara Rudolph.
Reported by Peter Hawthorne/Johannesburg and
Melissa Ludtke/Boston

Run Silent, Run to Moscow

Congress protests the sale of high-tech secrets to the Soviets

Don't get mad, get even. That was the cry on Capitol Hill last week, as Congress considered retaliation against two foreign companies that illicitly sold to the Soviet Union important high-tech equipment used in building submarines and aircraft carriers. The targets looming in the congressional periscope: Toshiba Machine, which is 50.1% owned by the Japanese conglomerate Toshiba Corp., and Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk, a state-owned computer and weaponmaker in Norway. Several lawmakers even suggested that Toshiba and Kongsberg be barred from selling products in the American market. "I'm talking about retribution," said Republican Senator Jake Garn of Utah.

The uproar grew out of an international scandal that has slowly been surfacing for more than six months. Concerned by apparent advances in Moscow's military technology, the Pentagon last year launched a probe to find out why the newest Soviet submarines were so much quieter and thus less vulnerable to enemy detection than their predecessors. Investigators discovered that between 1981 and 1984 Toshiba Machine and Kongsberg had falsified export documents and secretly supplied the Soviets with computer-controlled lathes used to manufacture state-of-the-art propellers for submarines and aircraft carriers. The props are particularly valuable on Soviet subs because the blades enable the vessels to slip more quietly through the sea.

The machinery shipments represent perhaps the most egregious violation yet of regulations established by the 16-nation Coordinating Committee on Export Controls, the body that oversees the sale of Western high-technology products to the Soviets and their allies. After Washington protested in March to the Japanese and Norwegian governments, Tokyo and Oslo took action. Two Toshiba Machine executives thought to have been involved in the improper deal were arrested and charged with violating Japanese export laws. In addition, Toshiba Machine was prohibited from selling any goods to 14 Communist countries for one year. Though not directly impli-

cated in the scandal, Toshiba Machine President Kazuo Iimura and three other top executives resigned. Norway, meanwhile, closed Kongsberg's trading arm and charged its sales manager with providing false information to the country's export authorities.

As stern as these actions sound, they are apparently not enough to satisfy Congress. The House of Representatives voted 415 to 1 last week to require the State Department to "enter into discussions with Japan and Norway regarding compensation for damage to United States national security." The next day members of a Senate subcommittee on international finance raised the possibility of a long-term ban on U.S. imports of Toshiba and Kongsberg products. That would be an especially devastating blow to Toshiba (1986 revenues: \$22.8 billion), which exported \$1.6 billion in TV sets, VCRs and other goods to the U.S. last year.

The White House may be more conciliatory than Congress. Though a senior State Department official says Japan and Norway "took their time waking up to the problem," he contends that both countries have since responded vigorously. President Reagan probably does not want a fresh trade confrontation with Tokyo; just two weeks ago he lifted some of the tariffs he had imposed on Japanese imports after the semiconductor dispute.

Whatever action is taken, the Navy may still face a serious problem. Though the U.S. has only 96 attack submarines, in contrast to the Soviets' 265, the American fleet used to be considered stronger by virtue of superior technology. Now that the new Soviet subs are equipped with quieter propellers, that superiority is threatened. As a result, the Navy may convince Congress that the number of U.S. subs must be increased sharply. Because the newest submarines under development—known as the *Seawolf* class—will cost more than \$1 billion each, it is the U.S. that could pay the highest price for Toshiba's and Kongsberg's dealings.

—By Gordon Block.
Reported by Yukinori Ishikawa/Tokyo and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



An Akula-type submarine, quieter than past models made by the U.S.S.R., plies the seas

All Aboard

Greyhound will buy Trailways

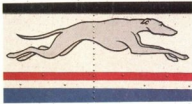
They have two of the most familiar names in transportation, but for many years they have been battling each other in a business that was going rapidly downhill. Last week the archcompetitors of the open road decided that joining forces might be the best way to survive. Greyhound Lines, the nation's biggest bus company, announced that it would buy rival Trailways for \$80 million. If the merger is completed, the U.S. will be down to its last national bus line.

Bus ridership has declined sharply with the growth of car ownership and the burgeoning popularity of air travel. The toughest blow came in 1978, when deregulation of the airline industry spawned a fleet of cut-rate carriers. On some routes plane fares became as cheap as bus tickets. It was no surprise, then, that between 1980 and 1985 total intercity bus travel dropped by 29%, from 27.4 billion passenger miles to 19.5 billion.

Among those travelers who remained loyal to buses, more and more chose small regional lines rather than the two national carriers. In 1986 Greyhound Lines hauled just 30 million passengers, less than half of the 64 million a year that it transported a decade ago. Greyhound earned only about \$35 million last year on revenues of \$640 million. Forced to tighten its operations, the company since 1983 has eliminated 2,000 towns and cities from its 14,000-stop, 48-state system.

Trailways, which lost \$8 million last year, has fared worse. The firm, which serves more than 1,000 communities, has pulled out of entire regions during the past five years, eliminating its New England service and dropping or severely reducing routes in, among other states, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado.

The impetus for the proposed merger came from Fred Currey, a Dallas entrepreneur who bought Greyhound Lines from the Phoenix-based Greyhound Corp. in March. Soon after the purchase, Currey, who had been chief executive of Trailways during the 1970s, began negotiations to acquire his old firm as well. He hopes that the Interstate Commerce Commission will approve the merger on the ground that struggling Trailways might otherwise go out of business. To help gain support for the deal, Currey pledged last week that Greyhound would not abandon some 400 towns, including Albany, Ga., and Fort Polk, La., that are now served exclusively by Trailways. ■



The new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers instructing J.F.K. in 1961

Demystifier of the Dismal Science

Walter Heller: 1915-1987

Presidential Candidate John F. Kennedy was dubious. Said he to the obscure University of Minnesota professor: "They tell me you're an economist, but you're the first that I've met from outside Cambridge, Mass." Kennedy, however, quickly got over his hesitation about accepting advice from someone unconnected with either Harvard or M.I.T. Walter Heller was so persuasive—and so adept at translating economic jargon into everyday language—that the whole nation came to listen, and profit. When he died last week of a heart attack at 71, he had been out of Government office for 23 years, but his high-pitched Midwestern twang still rang loud in every debate over economic policy, commanding the respect even of Republican economists who disagreed with his Democratic Keynesianism. Says Alan Greenspan, chairman-designate of the Federal Reserve Board and Heller's longtime colleague on TIME's Board of Economists: "Walter was clearly one of the giants of economics in the post-World War II period."

When Heller took over as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers at the start of the Kennedy Administration, the U.S. was just beginning to climb out of a slump. Fearing the recovery would be insufficient, Heller developed the idea of measuring the economy's performance not against past figures but against what it might reach while growing at full potential. That idea has long since become axiomatic for policymakers, but in 1961 it seemed radical. Heller believed such growth required a cut in the then towering income tax rates that in his view were strangling expansion—and never mind that the budget was already in deficit. It took more than a year for Heller to convince Kennedy and two more years before a skeptical Congress came around. But once the tax cut was passed in 1964, the

economy entered what now seems to have been a golden age. The upturn that began in 1961 continued for 100 months, still a record, while unemployment shriveled and inflation remained low.

Heller, however, was no doctrinaire expansionist. After leaving office in 1964, he saw clearly the danger of resurgent inflation in an overheated economy and tried vainly to persuade Lyndon Johnson to raise taxes again to pay for the Viet Nam War. Though he lost that round—and had to watch while war-driven inflation soared—he retained his influence as a professor, an inveterate witness before congressional committees and a counselor to Democratic politicians.

A native of Buffalo, the tall (6 ft. 4 in.) Heller earned his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin and got his first exposure to Government as a Treasury Department economist during World War II. Throughout his career, Heller showed a genius for putting economic analysis into simple terms. He was the first to speak of "fine-tuning" the economy, and in January he described the current expansion as "halting, hesitant and haunted" by budget and trade deficits. Another trademark was his gentle wit, which often turned self-mocking. While serving in Kennedy's Camelot, he chided the public for its "Puritanical" belief in rigidly balanced budgets. When that gave rise to a classic wisecrack, "I'd rather be a Puritan than a Heller," no one repeated the gibe more happily or laughed harder than Walter. The self-deprecation, however, could not disguise his contributions. Says Paul Samuelson, the Nobel laureate who recommended him to Kennedy: "The American economy, no matter where it goes from here, is permanently different because of the Camelot years and the changes Walter helped make."

—By George J. Church.
Reported by Bernard Baumohl/New York

Hot Growth in a Cold Market

Consumers are slurping up an endless cascade of frozen desserts

Does America need 1,600 different varieties of frozen desserts? The answer to that weighty question is a resounding yes. Responding to an apparently insatiable consumer appetite for exotic frozen concoctions, U.S. food companies are producing a dazzling array of new products, from fruit bars and candy-coated ice cream to soft-frozen yogurt and brownie bars. In the process, the size and diversity of the \$1.6 billion frozen-novelty market have grown spectacularly. That category includes all frozen desserts sold in individual portions, which have nearly doubled their sales in the past five years. The industry's burgeoning roster of competitors, which spend heavily to promote their products, ranges from one-product ventures like North Carolina-based Fruitiki to such giants as Nestlé and Pillsbury.

The freezer boom is being powered by the increasing presence of grownup appetites in a market traditionally associated with children: most frozen snacks are now bought by the free-spending, sweet-toothed 25-to-44 age group. Among the favorite treats of these young adults are the frozen fruit and juice bars, supermarket items made essentially of water and natural fruit chunks or juice. Sales of the bars jumped nearly 50% last year, to more than \$300 million. Frozfruit, a small company based in Gardena, Calif., introduced the first frozen fruit bar nationally eight years ago. But the novelty did not catch on until Dole Food (1986 revenues: \$1.7 billion), a division of Castle & Cooke, started selling its own fruit juice bars three years ago. Frozfruit

bars (\$2.49 for a box of four) contain chunks of strawberries, pineapples or bananas, while Dole Fruit 'N Juice bars (\$2.59 for six bars) come in five flavors, including raspberry and piña colada.

Alongside the frozen-fruit desserts at the supermarket is another innovation: frozen diet-drink bars. The new products got a boost seven months ago from a Food and Drug Administration ruling that allows manufacturers to use Nutrasweet low-calorie sweetener in frozen desserts. As a result, General Foods' Crystal Light frozen diet-drink bar, which contains 14 calories and comes in eight flavors, including pink lemonade, could be a strong seller this summer at \$1.89 for a package of six.

For snackers who do not care about calories or cholesterol, Carnation now offers Heaven ice-cream snack bars. Among the four flavors is caramel nut, which consists of vanilla ice cream coated with chocolate, caramel and peanuts. Price: \$2.99 for a box of six. Even more deadly combinations come from Steve's Homemade Outrageous Ice Cream Things of Lindenhurst, N.Y. One kind of Thing consists of a vanilla ice-cream bar containing pieces of Heath toffee candy and dipped in dark chocolate. A single bar sells for about \$1.29.

In the novelty ice-cream category, manufacturers have been chasing 1985's chilling success story, the oversize DoveBar, made by an Illinois-based firm owned

by Mars. The \$2 DoveBar, a stick of premium ice cream dipped in high-quality chocolate, reportedly generated sales of more than \$30 million last year. In reply, Nestlé Foods last month began selling its rival ice-cream bars covered with white, milk or semisweet chocolate and known as Nestlé Premium Ice Cream Bars (price: 99¢ each). Another new competitor is Carnation's Berry Swirls (\$2.99 for a box of ten), which mix vanilla ice cream and real berries. Pillsbury's Haagen-Dazs division has also introduced ice-cream bars (\$2.49 for a package of three) in such standby flavors as vanilla ice cream dipped in dark chocolate and chocolate ice cream covered with milk chocolate.

In the fiercely competitive climate, food companies are finding that they must advertise aggressively to attract consumer attention. To promote its fruit bars and other products, Dole has signed Pop Singer Kenny Rogers as a pitchman for three years at \$17 million. Nestlé is reportedly spending \$15 million to promote its ice-cream bars.

The glacial cascade shows no sign of ending. At least 120 new frozen desserts will be introduced in the first nine months of this year alone. David Braff, president of Braff & Co., a Manhattan-based consulting firm, estimates that only one in every ten new products will succeed long-term. Says Braff: "It will be survival of the fittest and richest." The American passion for things cold and sweet, though, virtually guarantees that the contest will continue to expand. In fact, sales of the 1,626 U.S. frozen novelty items that exist this year are expected to double by 1990 or so.

—By Barbara Rudolph.

Reported by Mary Jane Horton/Los Angeles and Jeanne McDowell/New York



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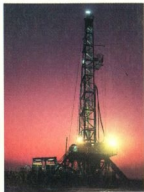


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Business Notes



Energy: rigs pump as prices jump



Profits: Neuharth breaks the good news about his newspaper



Labor: a caveman loses his voice

ENERGY

War Jitters For Crude

Is the new era of cheap energy that began early in 1986 already over? That question arose last week as the price of crude oil on the New York futures markets edged past \$20 per bbl. for the first time in 17 months. Industry experts said traders have been jittery about increased conflict in the Persian Gulf region, which supplies 20% of the oil consumed by the Western nations, since the attack on the U.S.S. *Stark* by an Iraqi plane last month.

An increasing supply of crude, however, is likely to drive the price below \$20. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is now pumping 17 million bbl. a day, well above its official production ceiling of 15.8 million bbl. The consensus of energy forecasters: oil will not return to last year's \$10 trough any time soon, nor will it climb to the \$30-plus range that bedeviled consumers in the early 1980s.

REGULATION

Rookie on Wall Street's Beat

Many received calls, but only one answered. U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani turned down the job. So did Nicholas Brady,

chief executive of the Dillon, Read brokerage house. It began to seem as if the chairmanship of the Securities and Exchange Commission would go begging until David Sturtevant Ruder, 58, a Northwestern University law professor, ended a six-month White House search by accepting the \$82,500-a-year position last week. Ruder has taught courses in SEC law and written extensively on securities, but some skeptics in Congress wonder if he is the "tough cop" needed to continue the crack-down on Wall Street's insider-trading scandal.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

March of the Modem Mavens

Executives in the information-services business are in a tizzy about a proposal by the Federal Communications Commission that would make it much more expensive to send and receive electronic data over telephone lines. More than 1.7 million household and business customers with computers subscribe to about 3,000 electronic-information services, which furnish everything from stock-price quotes to job listings. The information passes from the phone line to the computer through a connective device called a modem. These services are carried by data networks, which under the FCC plan would have to pay

\$4 to \$5 an hour per user to local phone companies for the right to transmit and receive material over their lines. The fees would be passed on to customers and could roughly double current usage charges.

Executives say the access fee would be a heavy blow to a still young industry. Customers are not happy either. Last week computer buffs were already flashing electronic messages to one another in an effort to organize a "modem march" on Washington.

PROFITS

"McPaper Has Made It"

When Gannett President John Curley wanted to alert Chairman Allen Neuharth that their five-year-old national newspaper (circ. 1.5 million) had broken into the black, the telegram was as short and peppy as any *USA Today* headline: MCPAPER HAS MADE IT. Thanks mainly to a 45% increase in ad revenues over last year, *USA Today* converted a nearly \$900,000 loss in April to a \$1.09 million profit in May. That was a pittance compared with the losses of nearly \$400 million that Gannett is reported to have suffered since *USA Today* hit the newsstands in September 1982, but the first earnings were a heartening victory for a paper that once was given

little chance for survival.

At first *USA Today* was scorned for its short, punchy articles. Critics dubbed it "McPaper," the journalistic equivalent of fast food, but soon major papers began imitating *USA Today's* artful use of color and snazzy graphics.

LABOR

More Flies in Their Soup?

What good is Fred Flintstone if he can't yell "Yabba dabba doo"? The top five animation companies faced that and similar questions last week, when the 200 actors who supply the vocal antics of the Flintstones, the Smurfs and many other favorite cartoon characters went on strike. Carrying placards that read NO MICKEY MOUSE BARGAINING, the usually heard-but-not-seen actors picketed such entertainment giants as Disney Productions and Hanna-Barbera and vowed silence until their year-old contract dispute with the companies is settled.

One demand by the actors, who typically perform three major parts during a recording session, is a reduction of that load to one principal role plus two minor parts unless they are paid extra on top of the standard wage of \$45 an hour. Says Frank Welker, who supplies the voice of Baby Kermit in *Muppet Babies*: "All we're asking for is more flies in our soup."



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Medicine

Stealthy Epidemic of Exhaustion

Doctors are perplexed by the mysterious "yuppie disease"

Gerald Kennedy, a high school teacher in Truckee, Calif., first attributed his flagging energies to the extra stress at the end of the school year. Then he developed more severe symptoms, including blinding headaches and painful sensitivity to light. He found it increasingly difficult to stay awake. Says Kennedy: "It was all I could do to get up to go to the bathroom." He was not alone. In the nearby Lake Tahoe area, about 150 others reported similar complaints. Two years later Kennedy has yet to return to work. Says he: "If you push yourself, you pay for it."

Like Kennedy, thousands of Americans believe they are victims of a stealthy epidemic that is draining their physical strength and mental energy. Initially, physicians attributed the mysterious affliction, which often strikes clusters of people, to a mixture of depression, hypochondria and mass hysteria. It has been called the yuppie disease—because a disproportionate number of its victims have been young, white professionals—chronic mononucleosis or, simply, fatigue syndrome. Hollywood is rumored to be plagued by the disease. Film Director Blake Edwards struggled with it for three years. "Your body starts to collapse," he says. "It was a matter of hell every day."

Decades after it was first reported, fatigue syndrome still lacks a formal name, a cause or a cure. It saps both physical and intellectual reserves, producing symptoms that include swollen glands and fever. Its most devastating physical effect is extreme exhaustion. People use similar words to describe the weakness ("It's hard to lift my coffee cup," "It's like an anvil on my chest"). Many sufferers report suicidal depression and mental impairment, such as flawed memory and inability to read.

Medical researchers remain puzzled by the syndrome. Says Epidemiologist Jonathan Kaplan of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, who investigated the 1985 Lake Tahoe outbreak: "We don't know what causes it, and we have a hard time diagnosing it."



Still, notes Stephen Straus, a virologist at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), who has interviewed sufferers, "you have to start believing what they're describing."

The symptoms and grouping of victims reminds some virologists of epidemic neuromyasthenia, a polio-like syndrome that occurred in clusters from California to Iceland between 1934 and 1960. Some victims suffered tiredness for years. No

organic cause was ever discovered. The latest medical research has focused on several viruses active in fatigue-syndrome sufferers. One frequently cited suspect is Epstein-Barr virus, a member of the herpes family that is carried by an estimated 90% of American adults. Researchers speculate that stress, an immune-system deficiency or even environmental toxins could activate EBV, which is known to cause most cases of infectious mononucleosis and has been linked to Burkitt's lymphoma.

But they are unsure whether EBV causes fatigue syndrome or whether its presence merely reflects an immune system so weakened by another organism that it no longer keeps the virus in check. Two recent reports in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* failed to link EBV to fatigue syndrome. Harvard Researcher Anthony Komaroff, an author of one study, suspects that another virus, perhaps an "EBV mutant," will eventually prove to be the cause.

Of 500 Boston patients studied by Komaroff's team, 21% claimed to have suffered extreme

exhaustion for at least six months. None had pre-existing organic illnesses that could account for their symptoms. The second *J.A.M.A.* paper, by Kaplan's CDC team, revealed that only 15 of 134 patients studied in the Lake Tahoe outbreak had "severe, persistent fatigue" of undetermined cause. The remainder either had symptoms that quickly disappeared, missed little or no work because of illness, or had other conditions that could have brought on fatigue.

"There certainly are people who are ill and who can be disabled by this," says the NIH's Straus. "But the percentage is relatively small compared to the claims." Unfortunately for the victims, doctors have few treatments to offer. Stress reduction or sleeping pills may provide some relief. For now, says Gidget Faubion, who runs a 9,000-member support group for the afflicted that is based in Portland, Ore., most sufferers must learn to accept the severity of their condition. Says she: "If you don't change your attitude, you're going to make a suicide call to me within six months." —By Dick Thompson.

Reported by Scott Brown/Los Angeles and Steven Holmes/Washington

Bypass Breakthrough

Doctors have long suspected that lowering a patient's cholesterol level after bypass surgery would slow the growth of new blockages in the coronary vessels. But the proper treatment has proved elusive. Last

week in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. David Blankenhorn of the University of Southern California reported that patients who were treated with a combination of the anticholesterol drug colestipol and the vitamin

niacin showed a marked improvement over those who had maintained a low-fat diet alone.

After two years, X rays showed that life-threatening plaque had started to melt away in 16.2% of the treated patients, vs. 2.4% in the control group. The results were so dramatic that some health professionals called for routine anticholesterol drug treatment after bypass surgery. Cardiologist Blankenhorn, who was one of the 162 subjects of the study, demurred: "Drugs alone are not enough. People are still going to have to change to a healthier life-style."



Blankenhorn

Science

Spectacle of Cosmic Surprises

New data from an exploding star keep astronomers puzzled



Through a glass darkly: view of the Large Magellanic Cloud with 1987A beaming away

"It's a gorgeous red object against the silver gray of the Large Magellanic Cloud," said Robert Garrison of the University of Toronto. Ever since it burst into view in the southern hemisphere on Feb. 23, Supernova 1987A, the brightest exploding star in 383 years, has fascinated astronomers and astrophysicists. Its surprising behavior has prompted them to rethink how massive stars evolve and what forces rage within them. "This is how science is done," said an exultant Garrison. "There is discovery, then wild speculation, then a settling of accounts."

Last week, as 700 members of the American Astronomical Society met in Vancouver to compare notes, they were still racing to keep up with a blizzard of new data and developments on the supernova. Among them: **►** The star that exploded to create Supernova 1987A has been identified as Sanduleak-69 202, a blue supergiant whose position in the Large Magellanic Cloud neatly coincided with the supernova. Though Sanduleak was suspected, some astronomers, like Harvard's Robert Kirshner, at first thought that satellite data on the LMC showed the star still existed after the blast and thus could not have been the progenitor. Later other scientists examining the same evidence failed to locate SK-69 202. Admitted Kirshner last

week: "It was that star that blew up—no matter what you've heard elsewhere ... from me." His colleagues guffawed.

But why would Sanduleak, a blue supergiant, a star presumably in mid-life, collapse so violently? According to theory, only aging red supergiants, whose outer gaseous layers had turned from blue to red as they expanded and cooled, spawned this type of supernova. One hypothesis: SK-69 202, like other stars in the LMC, contained relatively little metal, which theorists now think may keep the outer shell of even older stars from ex-

panding fully, thus making it glow blue rather than red as it plunged toward its thermonuclear crisis. Said University of Chicago Astrophysicist David Schramm: "It's clear that while the core of the star is understood well, the surface is not."

► Scientists are puzzled by the unusual pattern of light 1987A is emitting. Said Garrison: "This is not like any supernova we've yet seen." Generally, light from supernovas is expected to peak quickly and then decline. But 1987A's brightness rose, then leveled off, then increased again, peaking around May 22, when it was easily visible to the naked eye. Since then it has been gradually dimming. One possible explanation was proposed by Astronomer Stan Woosley of the University of California at Santa Cruz. He suggests that the decay of radioactive elements within 1987A's cloud of debris is now generating the light. If he is right, gamma-ray emissions from decaying cobalt 56 should start showing up this summer. Concedes Woosley: "I'm out on a limb." A more radical theory, put forth by Princeton Astrophysicist Jeremiah Ostriker, proposes that the neutron star that formed at 1987A's center when Sanduleak exploded has turned into an extremely rapidly rotating pulsar that is leaking energy and illuminating the surrounding debris.

Perhaps the most confusing phenomenon of all is the discovery of a glowing companion to the supernova that is 100 times as bright as Sanduleak had been. Scientists are frankly stumped by its appearance. Two teams of astronomers, from the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics and London's Imperial College, both using a technique known as optical speckle interferometry (quickly dubbed "that speckled thing"), fed data from telescopic observations into computers. What emerged

was a composite picture that confounded everyone. Said Woosley: "It's easier to say what it isn't than what it is. It wasn't there before the supernova. It's not a star. It's not a second supernova. I would quit astronomy and go live on a mountain as a hermit if two supernovas went off at the same time that close together." Cracked University of Colorado Astrophysicist Richard McCray: "Once again, nature has been more imaginative than the astronomers."

As its multiple layers cool and become transparent, Supernova 1987A continues to tantalize scientists. What will be revealed? "Eventually," said Woosley, "we should see the monster that lives at the center." Predicted McCray: "The best is yet to come."

—By Dick Thompson. Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/Vancouver

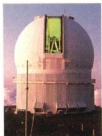
Telltale Wobbles

Is the solar system unique in the universe? This question has long driven astronomers to search for planets beyond our sun's. Last week three Canadian astronomers presented the first hard evidence that at least one planet, probably larger than Jupiter, may orbit around Epsilon Eridani, a nearby star favored by planet hunters.

Such planets, if they exist, are too small and dark to be detected direct-

ly. For six years the Canadians have monitored 16 stars from an observatory on Mauna Kea, Hawaii, looking for the distinctive wobbling motion caused by the gravitational pull of nearby orbiting bodies. Epsilon Eridani, among several others, shows the telltale wobbles.

Most astronomers want further confirmation before they believe other planets exist, but few deny the special appeal of the search. Says Gordon Walker, a member of the Canadian team: "You often wonder when you're looking at these things if someone up there isn't looking back."



Mauna Kea observatory

Law

Memories of the Monkey Trial

The Supreme Court reaffirms the barrier between church and state

Once again, science and religion collided last week. This time the battleground was the U.S. Supreme Court, where the Justices decreed that a Louisiana law requiring that creationism be taught along with evolution in the public schools was unconstitutional. The 7-to-2 decision, strongly bolstering prior rulings maintaining the wall separating church and state, was a major setback for Fundamentalist Christians.

In at least one respect, the case evoked memories of the famed 1925 "monkey trial" in Dayton, Tenn., where Science Teacher John Scopes was convicted of illegally teaching Darwin's theory of evolution. The current controversy involved another high school educator, Donald Aguillard of Lafayette, La., who along with colleagues and parents challenged Louisiana's 1981 Creationism Act. That law, which had never been implemented, sought to bar evolution from being taught in public schools unless it was accompanied by the teaching of "creation science." This is the belief that some 6,000 years ago the earth and all living things were suddenly created in a process similar to that detailed in *Genesis*. Aguillard successfully challenged the creationism statute in two lower federal courts and last week reaped his biggest victory yet.

Writing for the majority, Justice William Brennan declared that the Louisiana requirement ran afoul of the First Amendment's ban on laws "respecting an



Educator Aguillard: a successful challenge

establishment of religion." He found that creation science "embodies the religious belief that a supernatural creator was responsible for the creation of humankind." Therefore, he concluded, the statute's mandate that it be taught "advances a religious doctrine" and "seeks to employ the symbolic and financial support of government to achieve a religious purpose."

Justice Antonin Scalia, joined by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, sharply

dissented. The two latest Reagan appointees argued that the Louisiana law was a valid attempt to let students decide "for themselves, based upon a fair presentation of the scientific evidence, about the origin of life." They attacked the majority for believing that any government requirements restricting the teaching of evolution "must be a manifestation of Christian Fundamentalist repression." The dissenters said this majority "predisposition" was "created by the facts and the legend" of the Scopes case.

The ruling was praised by a wide range of educators, scientists, civil libertarians and religious groups. But Bruce Fein of the conservative Heritage Foundation declared, "The decision is a total assault on efforts to get anything related to religious precepts into public schools." The opinion will help lift the pressures on textbook publishers that have been pushed by Fundamentalists to de-emphasize the theory of evolution.

As the high court moved closer to its summer close, there was a flurry of other significant decisions. The Justices ruled 5 to 4 that because of its inflammatory nature, evidence of a murder's impact on the victim's family is not admissible at a death-sentencing hearing. The court unanimously struck down a Los Angeles International Airport regulation designed to protect harried air travelers from the entreaties of preachers and leafleters. The Justices concluded that the rule banning all "First Amendment activities" was too broad, and left open the possibility that narrower restrictions might be acceptable.

—By **Alain L. Sanders**
Reported by **Anne Constable/Washington** and **Don Winbush/Atlanta**

Milestones

BORN. To **Jessica Lange**, 38, radiant blond actress who won an Oscar for her 1982 role as Dustin Hoffman's co-star in *Tootsie* (1982), and **Sam Shepard**, 43, reclusive actor and playwright whose *Buried Child* (1978) won a Pulitzer; their second child (her third), first son; in Virginia. Name: Samuel Walker. Weight: 8 lbs. 14 oz.

BORN. To **Rod Stewart**, 42, gravel-voiced rock singer, and his honey-haired companion, **Model Kelly Emberg**, 27; their first child, a daughter; in Los Angeles. Name: Ruby Rachel. Weight: 8 lbs. 2 oz.

RECOVERING. **Harry Reasoner**, 64, laconic correspondent for CBS's *60 Minutes*; from lung surgery following a respiratory ailment; at home in Connecticut. He is expected to return to work in August.

RECOVERING. **Dennis Day**, 71, piping Irish tenor best known as Jack Benny's on-air sidekick; from spinal nerve damage; in Los Angeles.

RECOVERING. **Richard Nixon**, 74, 37th President of the U.S.; following surgery at New York Hospital for an enlarged prostate gland; at home in Saddle River, N.J.

DIED. **Dick Howser**, 51, gritty, soft-spoken American League infielder from 1961 to 1968 and manager of the New York Yankees (1980) and Kansas City Royals (1981-86); of brain cancer; in Kansas City. Howser led the 1985 Royals' winning World Series charge after their three losses to St. Louis in the first four games. Surgery after the All-Star game break last July left Howser too weak to last out his return as Royals manager this year.

DIED. **Geraldine Page**, 62, dominating actress known for her haunting portrayals of the troubled heroines in Tennessee Williams plays, and for her Academy Award-winning work in the 1985 film *The Trip to Bountiful*; of a heart attack; in New York City, where she was performing in a Broadway revival of the Noël

Coward comedy *Blithe Spirit*. Page, with her trademark fluttery gestures and seesaw voice, earned four Tony Award nominations in 42 years onstage. She played the love-starved Alma in Williams' *Summer and Smoke* (1952) and the fading movie star Princess Kosmonopolis in Williams' *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1959), also appearing in the movie version of the latter with her third husband, Rip Torn. Roles in such films as *Hondo* (1953), *Interiors* (1978) and *The Pope of Greenwich Village* (1984) brought her eight Oscar nominations.

DIED. **Kid Thomas Valentine**, 91, roughhouse jazz trumpeter and longtime Preservation Hall bandleader; in New Orleans. A showman who played everywhere from Moscow to Tokyo, Kid Thomas was buried without the traditional New Orleans jazz funeral. Explained one of his 27 grandchildren: "He never did like to play *When the Saints Go Marching In*."



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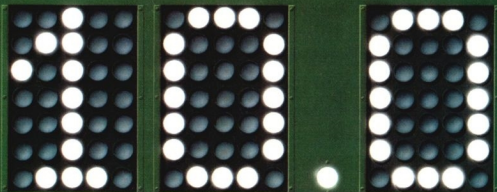
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Religion

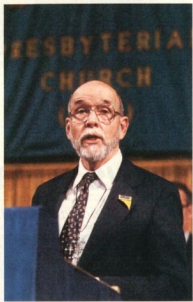
Coming to Terms with Judaism

U.S. Presbyterians seek friendship but struggle over Israel

Does the modern state of Israel fulfill God's biblical promise, which bestowed the Holy Land upon the Chosen People? That question has been the source of considerable spiritual and political debate among Christians ever since Israel was founded in 1948. The problem came to the fore again last week in Biloxi, Miss., for 665 delegates to the national assembly of the 3 million-member Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). The Israel issue led to a dispute that stirred passions over six days before the assembly finally approved an eight-page statement. The document is probably the most amicable declaration any U.S. denomination has yet issued on Jewish-Christian relations.

The words of goodwill, however, were nearly overshadowed by the intense debate over Israel. After considerable soul-searching, the church agreed that the "state of Israel is a geopolitical entity and is not to be validated theologically." As originally proposed by a special task force, the paper said that Presbyterians "take no position on the theological significance of the state of Israel."

The campaign to shift from the neutrality of that initial wording to a statement opposing pro-Zionist theology was led by the Rev. Benjamin Weir, the former U.S. missionary in Lebanon who was held hostage by Muslim terrorists for 16 months until his release last September. To him, both Jews and Palestinians have the right to a homeland. Weir is complet-



Ex-Hostage Weir presiding at Biloxi assembly

ing a year as the church's Moderator (titular head). Besides amending the section on Israel, Weir's allies, primarily churchmen who have worked in the Middle East, got the document downgraded from a church-policy statement to a study paper, pending further discussions in 1989.

The final text recognizes the overriding spiritual importance of the Holy Land for Jews, but it adds an expression of sympathy for Palestinians and "all people to whom rights of 'land' are currently denied." (In a separate action, the church pledged to counteract bigotry against Muslims and Arabs in the U.S.) The document also considered the touchy matter of converting Jews to Christianity. The approved text asserts that "Christians have no reason to be reluctant in sharing the good news of their faith with anyone." It adds, "Many Jews have been unwilling to accept the Christian claim and have continued in their covenant tradition."

Insistence upon respect for the continuing validity of Judaism was the important achievement of the assembly. The delegates repudiated the idea that God turned against the Jews because they rejected Jesus as the Messiah, and expressed repentance for Christianity's part in anti-Semitism. The American Jewish Committee said the document is "potentially of great historic importance" and has "broken significant new ground."

Turning to internal business, the assembly voted to move the church's headquarters from New York City and Atlanta to Louisville. The head of a site committee, which had selected Kansas City, glumly eyed the Louisville lobbyists' brochures and gift baseball bats and grumbled, "Glitz and hype carried the day." Not exactly. To gain 900 Presbyterian jobs and a \$32 million payroll, the Kentuckians will give the church a downtown building virtually free.

—By Richard N. Ostling.
Reported by Richard Woodbury/Biloxi

Nine Wins In a Row

The nation's largest Protestant body, the 14.6 million-member Southern Baptist Convention, last week overwhelmingly re-elected the Rev. Adrian Rogers, 54, pastor of a Memphis super-church, as president. It was the ninth straight presidential win for the Fundamentalist faction, which has used the office to build power on the boards of S.B.C. schools and agencies.

With Rogers in place, the 25,607 voting participants at the denomination's annual meeting in St. Louis turned to the report of a "Peace Committee" that was set up in 1985 to mediate between two S.B.C. factions. On the right,

the Fundamentalists insist on inerrancy—in essence, a literal interpretation of the Bible. The old-guard moderates, whose hold on denominational agencies and seminaries is steadily weakening, tolerate less rigid views.

The gathering gave 95% approval to the Peace Committee report, which endorsed



Rogers orating in St. Louis

inerrancy and chided seminaries for not hiring teachers who hold that view. Also passed was a recommendation that seminary boards "determine the theological positions" of current teachers. Faculty members expect new pressure on liberals. Warned Houston Judge Paul Pressler, the top Fundamentalist strategist: "We hope that all institutions will act with responsibility toward the people who pay their salaries."

The Right To Shun

Like certain Amish and Mennonite groups, Jehovah's Witnesses practice shunning: believers are required to treat as pariahs those who have

been ousted from the sect. Since 1981 those who leave voluntarily have also been ostracized, even by close relatives. Janice Paul of Anchorage, a former Witness who was shunned by her close friends in the sect after she defected, decided to strike back. She sued the Governing Body of the Jehovah's Witnesses for unspecified damages, citing her emotional distress. An appeals court in San Francisco, upholding a previous ruling by a federal district court, has turned away Paul's suit. The Constitution's guarantee of "free exercise," said the appeals panel, applies even to unpopular groups and practices and "requires that society tolerate the types of harm suffered by Paul." Responded Paul: "Jesus Christ never shunned anyone."



"You can push a good player to become better, but it is not possible to push a great player to do anything. I'm responsible for myself."

Sport

Germany Shows a Pair of Aces

Tennis is visiting its past again at Wimbledon and starting to see its future

Eleven years ago, when he was eight and she was turning seven, they practiced together, two West German children from the neighboring towns of Leimen and Bruehl, near Heidelberg. Playing tennis with a girl, and a younger girl at that, might have caused him the usual, expected, masculine, chauvinistic, German amount of embarrassment, except for one thing. "She could hit it," he whistles. "I was not as good as the good boys, and so I had to practice with the best girls. She was the best girl." Smiles come easily to Boris Becker, especially when the discussion includes Wimbledon. But he glows like a pumpkin at the recollection of those early rallies with Steffi Graf. Now they are both on the last ledge before the peak. "Two kids," he says, "from the same area, who practiced together at twelve ... ten ... eight. Isn't it a little incredible?"

Wimbledon rolls around again this week at the All England Lawn Tennis Club, where Becker will try to become the third-youngest singles champion of the century. Already the first and second youngest ever to do it, he points out, "I was born there, you know." Two summers ago, unseeded and 17, not to mention "very slow and fat," Becker dispatched one eminent adult after another with a crashing service and a somersaulting exuberance. They all left the grounds, Henri Leconte after Tim Mayotte,

predicting two things: that Becker would be a fine player one day and that he would lose in the next round.

"I didn't know what I was doing," he admits. "In my mind, I was playing a little tennis tournament back in Leimen." But

he won his second Wimbledon last year with full knowledge of the benefits and the costs. "It's no pressure coming back for the third. I can't promise I will win again, but I can promise I will enjoy it. I don't think a bad memory is possible for

me there anymore. Years from now, I think I'll walk onto the property and smile."

When he won the first time, Becker was a playful puppy with huge paws. Since then he has grown 2 in. in height, to 6 ft. 3 in., and a regimen of running has slimmed his legs and streamlined his carriage. "I have become an athlete," he says, resembling a basketball guard. "I'm not Dr. J, but I can dunk a basketball, just barely dunk it. Picking up a ball, any kind of ball, I always had a feeling for it. I knew how to handle it. I liked it." As Becker has grown physically, a part of his original appeal has diminished. Last week, vaulting the net after winning the Stella Artois at Queens Club, he placed his arm about Jimmy Connors' shoulders and positively dwarfed him. On tough points in the past, Becker has been inclined to rear up in celebration like a frisky and defiant Connors, but the effect is somehow unseemly now for the most powerful stallion in the herd.

Emotionally, Becker has grown too. When longtime Coach Günther Bosch resisted this, he was cashiered last January. Baleful Rumanian Ion Tiriac, 48, who saw something spe-

The heir to Navratilova-Evert has at last been found: Steffi Graf



LESTER KURTZ



"I've learned I can only live my life for me, I can't live it for everyone in the country, or else I'm alone in my room and I'm crying, you know?"

cial in Becker when better juniors were around, and who has skillfully steered the two of them into the multimillions, reluctantly assumed Bosch's role as well. "He has learned me life," Becker says colloquially, a frightening thought. "Above his mouth," wrote John McPhee of Tiriatic, "is a mustache that somehow suggests that this man has been to places most people do not imagine exist," closing deals "in a backroom behind a backroom." Becker says, "What other young men may ask their parents, I ask him. He has taught me everything. How to dress, how to handle women."

Putting aside the dangers of learning woman-handling from Tiriatic, their partnership has been inspired. "He just doesn't want to be a machine," Tiriatic says. "He wants to take charge of himself and make his own mistakes. Nobody has ever come so fast in the rankings to tenth, fifth, second, while his own generation of player is still hustling to get into tournaments. Is there another human being who gives 250 press conferences a year? There are six books out on him at the moment. Especially in Germany, where he is a god when he wins and a catastrophe when he loses, the pressure is inhuman."

In West Germany, where headline writers were delighted to displace Bitburg and Menzies with Becker in 1985, his name recognition is second to Volkswagen and well ahead of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who regards him as a grandchild. Becker is sometimes chagrined by his international celebrity. "I came back from the White House one time," he says, slapping his forehead like a gong, "and sat up in bed and thought, 'Hey, you were just talking with the most important man in the world. What's going on here? You're only a teenager.'" In Leimen, "Suddenly all my friends saw me as the Wimbledon champion, so I lost them.

'Hey, wake up, I'd try to say. I'm the one you sat in school with.' But they kept on being too nice to me for the wrong reasons. Strangers always ask if I've changed, but I think everyone else changed. It's sad."

The exaggerated store Becker's countrymen place in his fortunes, their fixed expressions in the grandstands at the Davis Cup, have showed him "what happened to us a long time ago in Nuremberg." He told TIME Correspondent

William McWhirter last year, "It's very, very difficult to be German sometimes. Because of their guilt, the Germans feel they have to do something special. I have to behave better than my opponents." At the Australian Open early this year, he smashed racquets on the ground, spat water at the umpire's chair and for all the world behaved like three-time Wimbledon Champion John McEnroe, who, both infirm and unsure at 28, is passing up his second straight Fortnight.

"There aren't a whole lot of guys who win Wimbledon at 17," McEnroe once observed cagily. "Becker didn't realize at the time what he was getting into. In five years, he will begin to understand."

Even in this regard, Becker defines precocity. "I'm sorry about Australia," he says, "but who behaves well all the time? I've learned I can only live my life for me, I can't live it for everyone in the country, or else I'm alone in my room and I'm crying, you know?" Becker is not alone in his room: for a year he has had the company of Bénédicte Courtin, 24. She is from Monaco, his tax haven, both sore subjects in the West German press. "I cannot love a woman?" Becker asks.

Though top-seeded at grassy Wimbledon, he is still second-ranked to Ivan Lendl, 27, still fundamentally living by the serve. "If I had not won Wimbledon, I might be a little further along as a player now, able to control where I play and when I practice a bit more." To illustrate his breathless itinerary, Becker has in his time won tournaments on consecutive weekends in Sydney, Tokyo and Paris. "I'm by far not as good as I can be; I have to get better. But I could not care any more than now. I'm very emotional on the court; my heart's in it, you know? I love tennis very much, but also I love to win. I don't mean to throw myself on the ground all the time;

Boris Becker: smashes, somersaults and the desire to be No. 1



Sport

it just comes." Becker says his perpetually barked elbows and knees complain only late at night, "under the cool sheets." He winces at that.

When he arrived so abruptly, the reaction of the leading players was colder still. "I took a big part of the cake away," he says, "but they came to know me a little better. Maybe they saw I wasn't a bad guy. They realize I can play tennis." Becker admires the only man ranked above him now, Lendl. "For me, McEnroe in 1984 was the best, but I don't think he ever had to work incredibly hard. Everything Lendl made, he worked for. He said, 'I'm going to sacrifice more than anyone,' and did it. He deserves to be No. 1."

Lendl is seeded second at Wimbledon. "I don't know the man," he said of Becker after losing last year's final. "I mean the young man, the boy... the champion."

Martina Navratilova, the women's top seed, covets her sixth straight Wimbledon crown and eighth singles championship overall. But the bulletin is that she has not won a tournament of any kind in seven months, during which period Steffi Graf has not lost a match. "The pressure will be on her next time," Chris Evert decreed after Graf's first pro tournament victory just 14 months ago. But by March of this year Graf was trimming Evert, 32, and Navratilova, 30, on the same bill. "Today she was the best player in the world," Navratilova said archly after losing the Lipton International in Florida, "and she will be until I play her again." They played again three weeks ago on French clay, where Navratilova's second serves had a case of the nerves and Graf won her first Grand Slam event, her seventh consecutive tournament and 39th straight match. "I used to be a little bit scared of Chris and Martina," she said even before that 6-4, 4-6, 8-6 passage. "Now it's their turn to be scared of me."

Eighteen as of June 14, Graf says, "I was never somebody who watched tennis, women's tennis—no way." She loved only to play, from infancy almost. "Every day," Peter Graf says, "there she was, waiting for me at the door. 'Please play with me, Papa.' Not four years old." Amazed that she had enough wrist strength for a real grip, Graf gave her a few pointers and then set her loose on the house. "One or two days later," he says, "all the lamps were gone."

A string was strung between surviving sticks of furniture, and they began to play tennis. "We played for ice cream," she says, "ice cream



Basking in the pleasure of Bénédictine Courtin's company

"I cannot love a woman?" he asks.

with hot raspberries. There was music too. It was fun." Graf is a lean, athletic man, 48, not much taller than his daughter, who can seem smaller than 5 ft. 8 in., sometimes quite delicate. A latecomer to tennis, he was a soccer player of local note, given to working so excessively hard that he routinely ripped his muscles and powdered his bones. Of all the world's Little League parents, tennis may produce the most virulent specimens, and Graf is considered the reigning scourge by officials and journalists alike, but not by his daughter. Without too much vanity, she says, "You can push a good player to become better, but it is not possible to push a great player to do anything. When I'm on the court, I don't play for my father. I'm responsible for myself."

In fact, remembering broken-down prodigies like Tracy Austin and Andrea Jaeger, her father has required her to rest every year from late November to mid-January, and to the dismay of tournament promoters, has kept her schedule reasonable. "Sometimes I have to be Mr. Graf," he says. "It's no fun." But the results have been as sweet as hot raspberries. "She is a champion from within."



Steffi and Dad, a partnership as sweet as hot raspberries

All from within," he says. "But her extra advantage may be the circle around her—her mother and brother too." (A practice partner, Czech Pro Pavel Slozil, takes care to coach in whispers and cast a short shadow.) "It is not important who is called coach," says Peter Graf, "but she looks to me." Meanwhile, Navratilova's slump has coincided with several shufflings of the complicated cast of characters around her.

Last year a viral infection stayed Steffi from Wimbledon, and while nobody concedes her a pre-eminent place yet on grass (she's seeded second), everyone seems sure the true heir to Evert-Navratilova has been found.

And glamorous Argentine Gabriela Sabatini, 17, may be her baseliner-in-waiting. They are doubles partners and friends but could start a Centre Court rivalry next week in the quarterfinals. Evert says, "I can't believe how hard Steffi hits the ball." Her forehead especially. "She's wonderful," says Billie Jean King, who spotted Graf early. "Steffi always had better footwork than the other kids, more discipline, and she quite frankly liked the pressure. Becker is another one. They love pressure—they thrive on it."

Graf professes also to "love quiet," and is grateful to Becker for deflecting so much of the glare at crucial times. "The German press has been playing us off in a little war, one against the other," Becker says, "but I can read the stories and tell how careful and generous she has been about it. She's a very nice person." Her single-mindedness might be overrated. Away from the court, she acts about as young as she is; Smokey Robinson and Bruce Springsteen hold her affection. "Someday I might like to own a hotel," she says, "try to manage it. I know what's nice about them." She does have a happy smile, though something has to seem faintly sad about an 18-year-old girl whose everyday expertise is hotels.

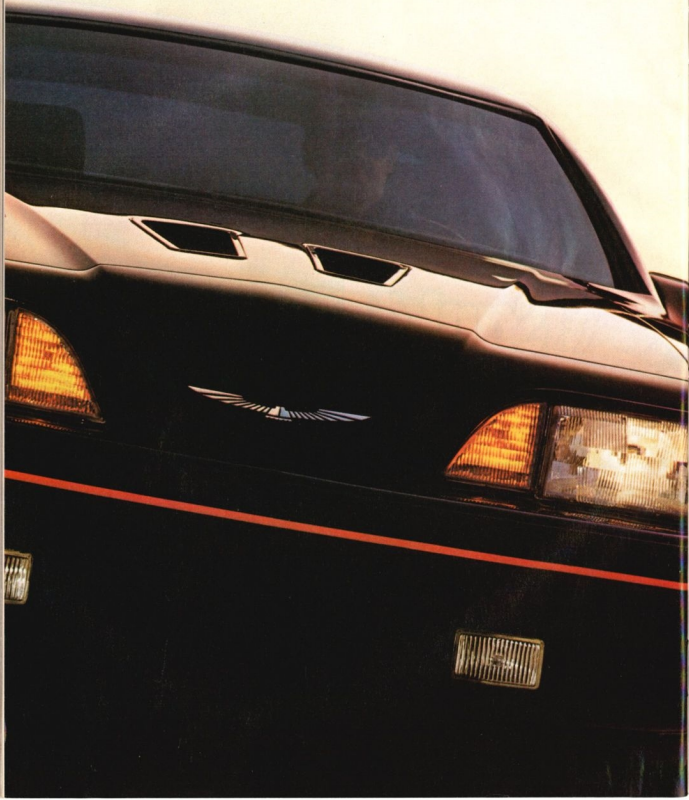
Becker's plans for the future are open. "I just know I don't want to be a 42-year-old ex-tennis player who won Wimbledon." For the moment, he looks forward to the Olympics next year in Seoul. Graf understands his excitement: she won the gold medal in Los Angeles. "It was the best tournament I ever played. I can tell you." Pros are welcome again, and Becker says, "I'm definitely going. Just to participate in something like that. I want to circle the stadium with the teams, sleep in the crowded rooms of the Olympic Village, eat the same food as the other athletes." Millionaires who dropped out of high school have sweet ambitions. —By Tom Callahan

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Show Business



"You have to perform now and then, to keep stage fright under control"

Leaving Lake Wobegon

Garrison Keillor closes down a unique radio show

He had left home long before, choking on prudence and rectitude, clawing at his collar for air. Exile was the bittersweet point of those fond and misty monologues about Lake Wobegon, the tiny, imaginary Minnesota town "that time forgot, that the decades cannot improve." The wry truth was that Garrison Keillor, celebrated shy person, uncorkable parlor baritone, world's tallest radio humorist, could abide the rural Midwest only in memory. Much of his audience had made the same journey, or nearly, and we loved to be persuaded, as we listened on public radio each Saturday to the extraordinary two-hour variety show called *A Prairie Home Companion*, that we had the same rueful recollections, maybe even the same peculiar second cousins.

Now Keillor was leaving not just home, but us. He had made the announcement on the Valentine's Day show, a few months ago, that *APHC* would shut down after 13 years on the air. He said he would quit, and on June 13, in the World Theater in downtown St. Paul, he did, after wandering without notes or road map through one more gentle monologue about Lake Wobegon, where the week, as usual, had been quiet, though rainy; after

singing every goodbye song he could think of, after taking out a pocket handkerchief and wiping a tear, or perhaps only a drop of perspiration, from the sweet, lined face of Guitarist Chet Atkins, and after running a lordly half hour beyond the close of his time slot.

He was right to quit, of course. It was time; some of us had begun to miss broadcasts now and then, though always with a good reason and a note from our mothers ("Jack was in a holding pattern above Logan Airport; please excuse his absence"). Still, it felt funny to know that Keillor was quitting cold, that he was going to live in an apartment in Copenhagen with his Danish wife Ulla. It was as if a tall, shock-haired boy we had all thought especially promising were heading off to the big city with a private smile on his face, leaving us rubes behind.

Keillor, who is 44, looked owlish a couple of hours before the last performance. In his dressing room he slapped shaving cream on his jaw and said without bitterness, but also without any trace of regret, that he and Ulla were selling their house in St. Paul and did not expect to live in the Midwest again. This was a realization, he said, "that came to me with

stunning finality." There was no unfinished business here; renovation of the World Theater had been completed. A brave man named Noah Adams, lately of the public-radio news show *All Things Considered*, sat in an office at Minnesota Public Radio most days, brooding about how to start his own musical variety show in the *APHC* time slot. Local tryouts will begin in the fall, and national broadcasts will start in January. But that was Adams' problem; Keillor had no advice to give. He was drawn to the Eastern part of the U.S., he said. In the meantime Denmark, where he was "just another bozo on the bus," would be his home.

He wanted to write magazine articles, he said, fact pieces, probably for *The New Yorker*, which has published his work over the past two decades. Fact pieces about what? "Well," said Keillor, "I could get away with one Innocent Abroad piece, but only one." Really? Not a series of Letters from Denmark extending into the next century?

Apparently not. At least in part, Keillor seems to regard Copenhagen as an excellent observatory from which to view the U.S., and in particular one elusive hamlet in the north-central region. A new collection of Lake Wobegon writings, called *Leaving Home*, will be published in the fall. Until then, the faithful in the U.S. will have to make do with *APHC* reruns on public radio and videotapes of the show made since March by the Disney Channel. Beyond that, will there be new dispatches from the Sidetrack Tap and the Chatterbox Café? "I need to let some air into Lake Wobegon," said Keillor. "That's one of the reasons for leaving the show." But, he says, "I owe a movie script to Sydney Pollack." The story will be set in Lake Wobegon, some decades in the past. Keillor knows the shape of the story he will do for Pollack, who directed *Tootsie* and *Out of Africa*: "There will be a wedding, and a funeral; that's clear to me."

Keillor is one of the sharpest and funniest extempore wits in show business, but in conversation he has a disconcerting knack of sounding like a Minnesota-born Henry Kissinger discussing the dangers of excessive arms control. Asked whether he might play a part in the Wobegon film, he went into his Kissinger mode and said, "That has not been discussed." O.K., did he expect to do any sort of performing? Here he brightened, for he likes the risk of live performance. "You have to perform now and then, to keep stage fright under control." He waves away the idea of a talk show as "death by interview." What does interest him is the kind of television variety show Sid Caesar, Ed Sullivan and Milton Berle used to do. He is not really comfortable with TV; there is an army of people to deal with, and someone like himself, who communicates in silences, isn't good at that. Still...

Ninety minutes to show time: back-stage at the World Theater, the 6-ft. 4-in. Keillor is now chest-deep in an army of young Hawaiians, the 49 members of the Kamehameha School glee club. Singer Kate MacKenzie, a.k.a. Sheila, the Christian Jungle Girl, rushes up to check a cue. Sound men and stagehands circulate. Buster the Show Dog signs autographs, in the person of Actor Tom Keith, who also does the voices of Father Finian and Timmy, the Sad Rich Boy, motor and siren noises and dandy skyrocket effects.

Half an hour before the beginning of the show named after Prairie Home, a cemetery in Moorhead, Minn., the theater doors open, and fans who have been waiting all afternoon in 99° heat file in, wearing T shirts advertising Powdermilk Biscuits and Bertha's Kitty Boutique. At the 15-minute mark Keillor wanders onstage, looking solemn, and tells everyone he does not believe in unsentimental farewells. He wants howling and lamentation, he says; he wants people to throw themselves on the floor and wrap their arms around his ankles. Yessir.

Then the red on THE AIR sign winks on, and Pianist Rich Dworsky whacks out a couple of yards of barrelhouse. Keillor swings into his theme song, the old Hank Snow tune *Hello Love*: "Well, look who's comin' through that door, I think we've met somewhere before..."

A couple of hours later, give or take about six encores, it's all over. Scottish Singer Jean Redpath has sung in her lovely, clear voice, the Hawaiians have aloha'd. Guitarists Atkins and Leo Kottke have laid down some elegant tunes. Buster has woofed one last time before going on unemployment, the Norwegian bachelor farmers have made their final appearance at the Chatterbox Café, and Keillor has carried on shamelessly. "I'm going away, for to stay a little while," he has sung, "but I'm coming back, if I go ten thousand miles." Does he mean it? The ON THE AIR sign turns dark, and Keillor bows himself offstage. Goodbye, love.

—By John Skow



A little harmony with Chet Atkins

Design

A Go-Ahead for "Bad Manners"

Washington will get a deliberately disturbing Holocaust museum

It used to be a rather simple task to design monuments for Washington. The requisite material was marble, the form was strictly neoclassical, the intended effect was stirring—Sousa in stone. Thus the memorials to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, even Kennedy. But then in the 1970s Congress started authorizing the commemoration of darker history, epochs for which symbolic expression was a complicated, contentious enterprise. No sooner was there an end to the dispute over Maya Ying Lin's rueful, abstract Viet Nam Veterans Memorial than a new debate arose over another unorthodox, intentionally disturbing design: the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum by Architect James Ingo Freed. The Washington Commission of Fine Arts rejected Freed's building at its first public review a month ago. And although the commission approved a revised plan last week, it seemed to give the go-ahead a little grudgingly.

The commission, headed by National Gallery Director J. Carter Brown, had wanted a building more like the rest of official Washington: civics-class grand, well behaved, regular. The commissioners were particularly uncomfortable with the museum's stark Hall of Remembrance—a nearly separate 75-ft.-high hexagon jutting out toward the Mall, overlooking the Washington Monument grounds and, in the distance, the Jefferson Memorial, and violating the street wall established by its more conventional neighbor, the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. Says Commission Secretary Charles Atherton: "The greatest concern was about the great mass of the museum. It would be too assertive on the site." One commissioner said the Hall of Remembrance looked like a gun turret.

Freed, perhaps the most talented of the partners in the Manhattan-based firm of I.M. Pei, nipped and tucked at his design to meet the objections. The overall size was reduced by about 10%, the height of the hexagon was cut by 5 ft., and, most important, the building was pulled back 40 ft. from the Mall. But Freed's compromises were grudging too. A memorial to the most awful events of the century, he argues persuasively, ought not to abide by spick-and-span urbanism. "I'm not sure this building should have good manners," Freed says. "I can't tolerate prettification—that's what the Germans did at the camps, with Tyrolean façades and flowerpots on the sills."

A Jew whose family fled Germany in 1939, Freed, 56, says he wants his design to evoke "mystery, fear, a sense of unbelieving." The main building will contain explanatory exhibits—photographs, arti-

facts, documents, films and so on. The Hall of Remembrance will have niches where hundreds of candles can be lit in memory of particular Holocaust victims. The architecture is full of allusion to the Holocaust. Inside, rough brick and exposed steel trusses unsettlingly mimic death-camp construction technique, though not its precise forms; two rows of



Freed with a model of his building
Mimicking death-camp construction.

four towers (here containing offices) recall the camps' ubiquitous guard towers. Even the dimensions (cramped) and lighting (bleached) of the passenger elevators are designed to make visitors feel appropriately uncomfortable.

Some Washington officials have suggested that such a place does not belong in the nation's capital, that Nazi genocide is not, after all, an integral part of the American story. But Congress settled that argument when it authorized the museum in 1980 (to be built with \$45 million to \$50 million in private funds). Some of the critics now suggest the structure ought to be redesigned as a much smaller, less conspicuous museum. No: a nice little Holocaust memorial would be worse than none at all. "This building," Freed says rightly, "has to have something indigestible about it."

—By Kurt Andersen

Cinema



Hué down east: Baldwin and Modine line up to confront a Viet Cong sniper

Welcome to Viet Nam, the Movie: II

FULL METAL JACKET Directed by Stanley Kubrick
Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Michael Herr and Gustav Hasford

Act I: As the country crooner sings "Goodbye, sweetheart, hello, Viet Nam," 17 Marine recruits get their heads shaved. The long, defiant hair of the late 1960s falls to the floor; the young men look sullen or stern. Do they know that this is a pre-op for a lobotomy? Double time, in their eight weeks at Parris Island, S.C., they will be stripped of their freedom, their pride, their names. The recruit who dares to hang some John Wayne sarcasm on the drill instructor will be called Joker (Matthew Modine). The guy from Texas will be dubbed Cowboy (Arliss Howard). Gomer Pyle is the name given to a fat bumpkin (Vincent D'Onofrio) whose dim-witted sanctity begs to be beaten into lean meat. The D.I. (Lee Ermy) will oblige. He will shape Pyle into an M-14 with a loaded magazine—a full metal jacket. Then Pyle, like his sweetheart of a rifle, will go off. The killing machine will be fired too soon. His last smile will be one of emotional vacancy, for he has achieved the purity of madness.

With this splendid first 45 minutes of his new film, Stanley Kubrick re-enters the real world. For a quarter-century the reclusive director has hit the cerebral fantasy button, in Pentagon war rooms (*Dr. Strangelove*), in outer and inner space (2001: *A Space Odyssey*), in the nightmare future (*A Clockwork Orange*), in the duplicitous past (*Barry Lyndon*) and down the endless bloody corridors of a deranged mind (*The Shining*). Now he's back. *Full Metal Jacket* is not a realistic film—it is horror-comic surrealism, from a God's-eye view—but it should fully engage the ordinary movie grunt. The boot-camp sequence

begins as high farce, with the D.I. taunting his recruits in arias of obscenity that tickle and singe the ear. Kubrick's majestic camera tracks across the barracks, it ascends obstacle courses, it glides past the soldiers, then abruptly cuts to close-ups, to study their pain head on. Their faces are fists clenched in rage and fear; they know that farce is about to replay itself as tragedy. The Marines never quite recover from the inevitable explosion. The film never quite survives its bravura beginning.

Act II: Viet Nam, just before the 1968 Tet offensive. Local hookers peddle their pleasures while Joker and a soft, eager photographer called Rafterman (Kevin Major Howard) dodge thieves and boredom. Their job is to rouge up the war for the *Stars and Stripes*, to turn the horror into cheering press releases. No soldier believes a bit of it. Everyone has reached a state of exalted cynicism. "Welcome to Viet Nam, the Movie," Joker sneers to an American camera crew. "You think we waste goods for freedom?" says the Marine called Animal Mother (Adam Baldwin).

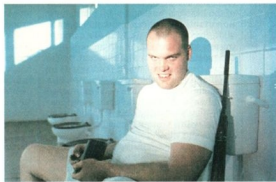
Crazy Earl (Kieron Jecchini), who poses next to a sprawling Viet Cong corpse, pays ironic tribute to the enemy: "After we rotate back to the world, we're gonna miss not havin' anybody around worth shootin'." Later, when he picks off a couple of V.C. like fairground ducks, his face creases in a smile of dread and awe.

Maybe because it was shot in England instead of the Philippines, *Full Metal Jacket* is clothed not in the lush tropical colors of other Viet Nam films but in the desaturated green-gray of a war zone as it would appear on the 6 o'clock news. Hue might be Pittsburgh. Here, only death looks luscious: gunfire makes a gutted warehouse flare into brilliant orange, and the blood of strafed civilians waters the countryside, turning it into poppy fields. The drama is desaturated too. The soldiers have no ideals to defend, just their asses; the accompanying music is not Samuel Barber but inane party rock of the '60s like *Woolly Bully* and *Surfin' Bird*. In this second section the movie becomes a notebook of anecdotes, always compelling, but rarely propelling the story toward its climax. Unlike Oliver Stone's *Platoon*, with which it will unfortunately be compared, Kubrick's film does not want to say every last word about Viet Nam. It wants to isolate a time, a place and a disease.

Act III: A sniper shoots one, then another, member of Cowboy's platoon. How many of the enemy are inside the building? How many live bodies should Cowboy offer up to fulfill the Marines' tradition of recovering their dead and wounded? How does any officer stanch his men's righteous bloodlust? And what does an honorable soldier do when confronted with a killer's face, as pretty as an M-14, that pleads for mercy killing?

As Kubrick returns to the movie mainstream, he also waters down his material with a Hollywood ending. So far, he has closely followed his source novel, Gustav Hasford's taut, scary *The Short-Timers*. Now—we will say no more—Kubrick pretties up the climax with a bogus moral dilemma and some attenuated anguish. A viewer is finally

left to savor earlier delights: the dialogue's wild, desperate wit; the daring in choosing a desultory skirmish to make a point about war's pointlessness; the fine, large performances of almost every actor (Ermy and D'Onofrio seem sure shots for Oscar nominations); most important, the Olympian elegance and precision of Kubrick's filmmaking. *Full Metal Jacket* fails only by the standards the director demands be set for him. By normal movie standards, with whatever reservations one may entertain, the film is a technical knockout. —By Richard Corliss



Stanley steamer: D'Onofrio flashes the Kubrick crazy stare

Video

MTV Faces a Mid-Life Crisis

The first music-video channel is trying to recapture the heat

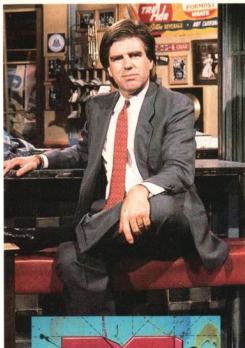
New art forms do not usually emerge with such neat birth dates, but consider Aug. 1, 1981. On that day a cable channel called MTV made its debut, offering a round-the-clock barrage of music videos—short films set to rock songs and produced by record companies to promote their performers. These imaginative, visually arresting clips soon caught on; rock music was suddenly something to look at, not just listen to. Such performers as Duran Duran and Cyndi Lauper rode to success on them; top Hollywood directors, including John Landis and Brian De Palma, tried their hand at making them. The glitzy, fast-paced "MTV style" seeped into everything from movies to television commercials. MTV, in short, was hot.

The heat, if you haven't noticed, is off. A month short of its sixth anniversary, MTV is singing a more troubled tune. Ratings have fallen off, and so has much of the excitement. A couple of hours spent watching MTV today reveal how quickly the avant-garde can become passé. With a few exceptions (the dazzling tattoo of animated images that illustrates Peter Gabriel's *Sledgehammer*), videos have settled into a yawn-provoking rut. Typically they feature scenes of the performer in performance intercut with snippets of a fanciful "story" or dressed up with now familiar visual gimmicks (cliché of the season: neoprimitive black and white). Is MTV an idea whose time has already gone?

To be sure, TV's first and still pre-eminent music-video channel is in no danger of demise. MTV is now available in 35.8 million cable homes, up from 2.5 million when it started. Though the number of viewers at any given time is relatively small, advertisers continue to seek MTV's desirable teenage audience. Net revenues have risen steadily (from \$71 million in 1984 to \$111 million in 1986, according to industry figures), and last year MTV turned a profit of \$47 million.

But numerous onscreen changes have signaled a mid-life crisis. By the end of next month, all five of the channel's original veejays (MTV's equivalent of radio disk jockeys) will have left or been let go. Their replacements are a younger corps that includes Britisher Julie Brown, 27, and Dweezil Zappa, 17, son of Veteran Rocker Frank Zappa. A few years ago MTV tried to broaden its appeal by adding the mellower sounds of Lionel Richie, Billy Joel and others; now it has returned to its original emphasis on hard rock and

heavy-metal bands, with softer ballads largely relegated to its sister service, VH-1 (available in 20.8 million homes). The channel's format has been diversified with more live programming, sitcoms (reruns of *The Monkees* and a British import called *The Young Ones*) and nonmusic in-



Freston in the studio: changing directions

"The challenge is to maintain freshness."

serts, like a series of reports on rock groups. "We have changed directions," says MTV Entertainment President Tom Freston, successor to MTV Founder Robert Pittman, who left last fall to start his own media company, "from focusing on music alone to including life-style, the way people look, feel, dress. The challenge is to maintain freshness."

The first indication that something was amiss at MTV came, as it usually does in the TV world, from the A.C. Nielsen Co. At the height of its popularity in 1983

and '84 (when Michael Jackson's *Thriller* was a hit attraction), MTV's ratings hovered between 1% and 1.2% of its potential audience. By the fall of 1985, the ratings had sunk to .6%, and they have not improved much since. MTV executives dispute the numbers, claiming that Nielsen's sample underrepresents males between the ages of twelve and 24, an important segment of its audience.

Whatever the true extent of the erosion, it was probably inevitable. MTV's success spawned a host of imitators, such as NBC's *Friday Night Videos* and WTBS's *Night Tracks*, which diluted the audience. A more serious problem, in the view of many, has been the declining quality of the videos, which record companies supply to MTV at no charge. "MTV has no control over their main source of programming, and that's the video clips," notes Video Producer Ken Walz. "They're trapped by what they get for free."

After a lively period of experimentation when MTV was young, record companies have grown more cautious. Some, like CBS Records, have cut back on the number of videos they produce. Others have put a tighter rein on budgets, which average between \$50,000 and \$100,000 a clip. For all their artistic aspirations, rock videos are intended mainly as promotional tools; by that measure, a low-budget clip of the band in concert may do the job just as well as a more elaborate "concept" video. Says Video Director Wayne Isham: "What's good these days is what sells product."

What's good is also what sells to MTV. It is the prime showcase for music videos, so its choice of what to air is crucial for any act seeking national exposure. Such power has led to many complaints about MTV's musical selections, most notably charges during its early years that it was ignoring black performers. Meanwhile, the network has solidified its dominance by striking deals with the largest record companies, in which it pays for the right to air certain videos exclusively.

Exposure on MTV can still have substantial impact. The success of such currently hot groups as Bon Jovi and Poison is largely traceable to the saturation airplay given their videos on MTV. One popular band, Journey, last year opted not to produce a video to go with its new album. But when sales lagged, the group released one belatedly, and business promptly picked up. "There's no doubt that its impact has leveled off," says Gil Friesen, president of A&M Records. "But if MTV weren't to survive, someone else would come along and reinvent it."

—By Richard Zoglin.

Reported by Elaine Dutka/Los Angeles and William Tyman/New York

People



Bringing down the gavel on her past: Bardot with bust of Marianne

She became famous by baring her body for the camera, but now **Brigitte Bardot**, 52, is emptying her closet for charity. The former French sex kitten made a rare public appearance in Paris last week to auction off 116 of her personal belongings for her beloved animal-protection crusade. The affair, which had to be moved from the Drouot auction house to a conference center to ac-

commodate a crowd of 3,000 curious and curiosity-seekers, raised \$500,000 and will allow the foundation that bears her name to acquire nonprofit status. Some of the Bardotabilia that went on the block: an 8.76-carat diamond; a sculpted bust of herself as Marianne, the symbol of the French Republic; a collection of miniature period furniture; costumes and posters from several mov-

ies, and even a discarded wedding ring—a jewel-encrusted band given to her by her third husband, Gunther Sachs. Said Bardot: "I gave my beauty and my youth to men, but now I am giving my wisdom and experience, the best of me, to animals."

Remember the Wana Be's, **Madonna's** junk-laden look-alike fans, who jingled through the nation's malls and discos a couple of summers ago? Well, they sprouted all over Japan last week as the brassy, beguiling belter took the stage in Osaka to launch a four-month tour of Japan, the U.S. and Europe. The tour is called "Who's That Girl?," which happens to be the title of Madonna's movie, which is due this summer. But if the frenzy she whipped up at the SRO baseball-stadium concert is any indication, maybe they should switch it to "Causing a Commotion," another new roof raiser. Changing from a black corset, fishnet tights and lace-up boots to black pants, large sunglasses and a feather boa, the Material Girl urged the audience, in Japanese phrases she had

mastered the night before, to sing and dance with her. Afterward, during a visit to Kyoto, two geishas reportedly made Madonna up in tradi-



Madonna causing a commotion

What Ho! The Windsors!

The battle raged for hours as the opposing armies scrambled over walls, sloshed through ponds, dueled to the death and boldly rescued damsels in distress. When it was over, **Princess Anne's** Red Perils had vanquished the minions led by **Prince Edward**, his older brother the **Duke of York** and his duchess, the former **Sarah Ferguson**. Despite the public outbreak of sibling rival-



Fergie, Edward, Andrew and Anne holding court at *It's a Knockout*

ry, the House of Windsor stood prouder than ever at the end of the day. Forsooth, the mock conflict last week at Alton Towers, an amusement park in Staffordshire, England, had been staged to raise money for four of the royal family's favorite charities. As some 2,000 jolly spectators cheered them on, the color-coded armies clashed in zany skirmishes of "Knock the Knight," "The Uninvited Guest" and "King of the Castle." Titled *It's a Knockout* and filmed by the BBC, the tourney featured a lance-toting legion of international celebrities, including **Christopher Reeve**, **Jane Seymour**, **John Travolta**, **Sheena Easton** and **Meat Loaf**. (The Windsors' own superstars, the **Prince and Princess of Wales**, missed the merriment: their presence was required at the ultraformal ceremony in which former Prime Minister **James Callaghan** was made a Knight of the Garter.)

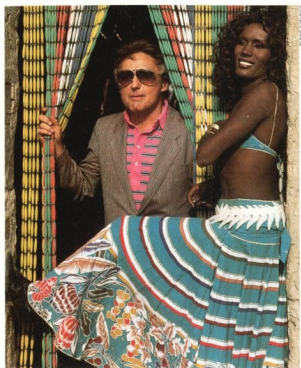
Although the young royals were not allowed to enter the fray themselves—reportedly on explicit instructions from **Queen Elizabeth II** that they not be photographed in unseemly poses—they were very active on the sidelines. True to form, the fun-loving Fergie led her team, dubbed Big Bad Blue, with the razzma-



Mock Saturday Knight fever:

tional eye makeup, and she in return taught them "how to wink" and "how to blow kisses." Not that she has any intention of giving up her old habits. She still jogs for at least half an hour each day and has managed on occasion to sneak past photographers for a little unescorted sight-seeing. Her disguise: a plain brown wig.

His private museum of the unusual and bizarre already includes a menagerie of exotic animals and a hyperbaric oxygen chamber. Now **Michael Jackson** seems intent on adding the remains of **John Merrick**, a.k.a. the Elephant Man, to his collection. Several months ago, the Gloved One tried to buy Merrick's deformed skeleton from London Hospital Medical College and was bluntly turned down. But Jackson, who once outspent **Paul McCartney** and **Yoko Ono** for publishing rights to 250 of the Beatles' songs, is used to getting what he wants. Last week he hiked his bid to \$1 million, double his original offer. In a prepared statement, Jackson's manager Frank Dileo explained that the reclusive singer's interest is based on the "ethical, medical and historical significance" of Merrick, who suffered from neurofibro-



Close encounters of the new-wave kind: Hopper and Jones in *Hell*

matosis, adding that Jackson increased his offer "not because he feels money is the answer to the problem but to show the seriousness of his intent and his guarantee to assume the responsibility of Mr.

Merrick's remains." Unmoved, the hospital again demurred. Meanwhile, it turns out that Jackson is not the only one who is serious about buying Merrick's remains. Last week Singer **Lisa Lisa** upped

the ante once more by offering a bone-rattling \$1.5 million.

So, why should an English director want to do a film "about an outlaw horde living in a town in the middle of the desert and how they are done in by an equally inefficient gang of hoodlums." Well, for one thing, **Alex Cox** zeroed in on the cultural fringe populated by con men, flying saucers and suicidal punk rockers in *Repo Man* and *Sid and Nancy*. For another, *Straight to Hell*, which is scheduled for release next month, features a downtown gallery of off-beat talents, including **Dennis Hopper**, Pop Diva **Grace Jones**, Rock Singer **Elvis Costello** and New-Wave Director **Jim Jarmusch**. Hopper, who describes the film as "somewhere between a spaghetti western and a shish kebabs," plays a real estate salesman named I.G. Farben who has an ambiguous relationship with his secretary, played by Jones. "Compared to the roles I've been doing lately this guy is rather straight," says Hopper, who recently appeared in *Blue Velvet*, *Hoosiers* and *River's Edge*. "He's kind of a regular American businessman, except his briefcase is full of guns." Hmmmm. Sounds like this wheeler-dealer makes a real killing. —By Guy D. Garcia



Trovolta on the attack

tazz of a high school cheerleader, then whiled away breaks in the filming by lobbing rubber chicken legs and other stage food at her husband. Prince Andrew gave as good as he got. Sporting a floppy hat in his team's color (green), he held aloft a stuffed panda doll and proclaimed, "Our mascot is the panda, but we're the real animals!"

Not all the generals inspired such high esprit de corps. Singer **Cliff Richard**, a member of Anne's team, complained that the princess ruled the Perils with an iron hand. "If we want to cheat, we have to ask her permission," joshed Richard, adding a bit ruefully, "It's anything goes on the Duchess of York's team." Princess Anne must be doing something right, however. A week earlier the Queen had bestowed on Anne the title of Princess Royal, an honor regarded in court circles as regal recognition of her work for the Save the Children fund.

Despite his sister's ceremonial and tactical coups, it was Edward who distinguished himself as a hardworking, behind-the-scenes leader. The prince, 23, who abruptly quit the Royal Marines earlier this year, proved such a good fund raiser—£1 million—that he inspired comparisons to Live Aid Organizer **Bob Geldof**.

Edward said he hoped the public would view the day's foolery "in a generous way—seeing that the members of the royal family are, in reality, ordinary human beings." Right, and Edward is just your average down-to-earth prince.

—By Guy D. Garcia. Reported by Paul Hofheinz/Alton



Seymour with Fergie in close pursuit



The triumphant Anne

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Books

Into the Wild, Mystical Yonder

ALNILAM by James Dickey; Doubleday; 682 pages; \$19.95

From where the poet sat one recent afternoon, the boats appeared to be moving through tall grass. It was a serene illusion. The tawny-green South Carolina marsh spread for a mile, hiding the waterway so that only decks and sails were visible. Playing off the seen against the unseen is one of the tricks of the writing trade and of particular current interest to James Dickey, whose second work of fiction relies heavily on the uncanny perceptions of a blind man.

Alnilam is, as its dust jacket proclaims, a "novel by the author of *Deliverance*," the 1970 best seller that launched Dickey out of poetry circles and into the celebrity void. He was good, fast-drying copy. Big and burly as a stereotypical Southern sheriff (a role he played in the movie of *Deliverance*), he strummed a guitar, partied hard and shot at deer with a bow and arrow. His collection of poems, *Buckdancer's Choice*, won a 1966 National Book Award, but he was also a member of the warrior class, having flown Black Widow night fighters against the Japanese in the South Pacific.

The romantic killer is not an image that Dickey, 64, now cares to perpetuate. Sipping milk on a Sullivan's Island porch a few miles outside Charleston, he tells of blood on the brain that threatened his life last year and required surgery that left a dent in his skull. He talks of hanging up his hunting weapons and of resisting the temptations that caused Hemingway's slippage from art to publicity. "The work is the im-paw-dent thing," he says. "That's all that's going to be left. Otherwise it's just a faded photograph album with a picture of yourself with a rhinoceros head or a marlin hanging on a scaffold."

This is not to say Dickey avoids taking care of publishing business. Earlier on the day of the grass-borne boats, he and his wife Debba, 35, and daughter Bronwen, 6, drove down to Charleston from Columbia, where the writer is what he calls a "schoolteacher" at the University of South Carolina. (Dickey has the knack of making modesty seem epic.) His destination was Chapter Two, a bookstore where he was scheduled to sign copies of *Alnilam*. It was not the impersonal ritual that authors usually endure. Dickey greeted customers and actively solicited their patronage. The result, according to Owner Susan Davis, was that nearly half of the

100 copies she had ordered were sold.

The notion of 50 readers swinging in hammocks is hard to resist. At nearly 700 pages, *Alnilam* is a book for a long, hot summer. "I've tried to do for the air what Melville did for water," says Dickey with a laugh that deflects the seriousness of his novel. It is a euphonious mystery story set at a U.S. Army Air Corps training base during the 1940s. Flying, in the mechanical as well as transcendental sense, is basic to the action, which is surprisingly abundant for a book that is shaped by

poetic impulses rather than plot.

Alnilam's protagonist is Frank Cahill, an Atlanta amusement-park and swimming-pool owner who has recently been blinded by diabetes. He learns that his son Joel is missing and presumed dead after a military aircraft training accident in North Carolina. Cahill and his touchy German shepherd Zack travel to Peck-over air base to learn more, even though father has never laid eyes on son. Cahill had been abandoned by his wife shortly before Joel was born, 19 years earlier.

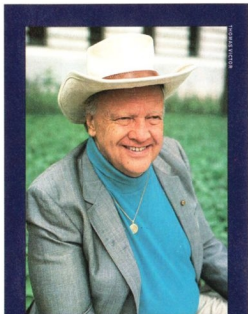
The truth about the young man emerges slowly and is hefty with mythological implication. Joel was a gifted student pilot who, like Icarus, got too cocky. In the Dickey version, the cadet flies too close to a raging brush fire and loses control of his plane in the hot turbulence. A farmer pulls him from the wreckage, but while he goes to get help Joel disappears, leaving only his broken goggles and a piece of zipper torn from his boot.

The novel's highly charged atmosphere turns these scrap items into relics. Blind Cahill literally feels his way to the truth about his son. Joel's former instructor breaks regulations and takes him for a dangerous spin that conveys the elemental and unnatural sensation of flight. Cahill also discovers that the lost flyer was the leader of a trainee cult known as *Alnilam*, named after the central star in the constellation Orion, the hunter. Eventually Joel is revealed as an incipient fascist, a "cool-headed demon," an arrogant manipulator of symbols and, reminiscent of the pseudoscientific romanticism of Nazi Germany, a practitioner of "precision mysticism."

This sinister news sets the novel on its final approach: a cautionary tale about the power of negative thinking, or, as one *Alnilam*ist puts it, "Everything will be simple: simple and deep. There won't be anything else; only nihilism and music." Compared with the allusive qualities of the book, such statements can seem as obvious as a Goodyear blimp. But they cannot overshadow Dickey's talent for musing small details, his audacious lyric power and technical risks. At times he splits the page into two columns, the left registering the impressions of Cahill, the right a simultaneous visual sighting of events.

Alnilam also contains impelling descriptions of aerial combat, though we learn later the stories are probably lies. Significantly, the accusation cannot lessen the imaginativeness of the narration. It is one of Dickey's better stunts: to portray the artist as an inspired liar who can convince us that boats float on grass and a book can fly.

—By R.Z. Sheppard



Excerpt

"When they get up there for the first time, it's not the pistons dancing up and down and the gas exploding in a little round hole. It's being lifted up, and staying up, and in a way doing all this by yourself, by your own means and your own body. A lot of them forget there's an airplane involved, they're so lost in this other thing... They're not the same people they were when they were growing up, when they were playing games and chasing girls around. You could say that everything that's young and excitable about them is brought out."

Essay

Speech for a High School Graduate

Your official commencement speaker tackles the big themes, tells you to abjure greed, to play fair, to serve your community, to know thyself. Your more personally devoted commencement speaker agrees with all that.

But he has special wishes for you too—idiosyncratic, of course, what an educated daughter may have come to expect from an oddball. People always said that you resemble him.

What he wishes you first is a love of travel. Travel will hold you back from doting on your troubles, and once you've seen something of the world, you will recognize foreign places as instances of human range. The logic of Athens, the fortitude of London, the grace of Paris—a city for every facet of the mind. He would have you connect travel with an appreciation of the past as well. In Jerusalem recently, he walked the Old City, brushing thousands of years of faith and murder. He would like you to see yourself as history, to wonder what you would have shouted, or at whom, as Jesus struggled up the Via Dolorosa. He hopes that you will husband your own past too. The past means possibility.

He also wishes you a love of animals, which you feel strongly already; he hopes that tenderness lasts and grows. Animals, too, draw people out of excessive self-interest, their existence a statement of need. A dog's eyes search your face for a mystery as deep as God, asking nothing and everything, the way that music operates. He hopes that you always love music, even the noisy boredom you clamp to your ears these days, while he harbors the prayer that in later years will follow Vivaldi and Bix Beiderbecke. If you learn to love jazz, you will have a perpetual source of joy at the ready. Jazz is *serious* joy, much like yourself.

For some reason, he has always favored culs-de-sac, so he hopes you live on one, someday, a neat little cutoff that surprises the city's motions with a pause. Trees on the street; he would like that for you, and low modest houses so the sky is evident. He hopes that your mornings are absolutely still except for birds, but that the evenings bulge with human outcry, families calling to one another in the darkening hours. He wishes you small particulars: a letter received indicating sudden affection, an exchange of wit with a total stranger, a moment of helpless hilarity, a flash of clarity, the anticipation of reading a detective thriller on a late afternoon in an electric storm.

He hopes that you learn to love work for its own sake. You have to be lucky for that (of course, he wishes you luck), and find a job that grows out of dreams. Something to do with helping others in your case, he should think, since he has seen your natural sympathy at work ever since your smallest childhood and has watched you reach toward your friends with straightforward kindness. Friends, he knows, you will have in abundance. He wishes them *you*.

He hopes that you will always play sports, just as ruthlessly as you play sports now. He hopes that you will always seek the company of books, including the trashy romances; that you will always be curious about the news, as long as you do not mistake the news for life. Believe it or not, he even hopes that you will always be crazy about clothes, particularly once you establish your

own source of income—fashion plate, charge plate. You seem to know the difference between vanity and style. On you high style looks good, kid.

Eccentrics: he hopes that you always have plenty of them about you, and few, if any, sound thinkers. Sound thinkers appear on television; sycophants award them prizes for sound thinking. Eccentrics have a sound of their own, like the wild Englishman Lord Berners, who invited a horse to tea, or less extravagantly, Bill Russell, who played basketball to meet only his own standards of excellence. Russell told his daughter that he never heard the boos of the crowd because he never heard the cheers—no easy feat in an age pumped up by windbags and *Kirkus Reviews*. Your commencement speaker hopes that you will turn a deaf ear to empty praise as much as to careless blame, that you will scare yourself with your own severity.

Solitude he wishes you as well, but not solitude without a frame. Choose creative times and places to be by yourself. In museums, for instance, where you may confront Vermeer or Velázquez eye to eye. On summer Sundays, too, when you may be alone with the city in its most clear and wistful light: the mirrored buildings angled like kitchen knives, the Hopper stores dead quiet, the city's poor dazed like laundry hung out to dry on their fire escapes. For contrast, seek real country roads, tire-track roads straddling islands of weeds and rolling out into white haze. Such roads are not easy to find these days, but they exist, waiting to trace your solitude back into your memories, your dreams.

You never back down from a fight. Your commencement speaker cheers you for that, and hopes you do not weaken or think safe. Still, it helps to learn that some fights are too small for kindling, and if you must fight out of your weight class, always fight up. Hatred without a fight is self-consuming, and fighting without hatred is purposeless, so regretfully he wishes you some hatred too. But not much, and not to hold too long. There is always more cheapness in the world than you suspect, but less than you believe at the time it touches you. Just don't let the trash build up. And there is much to praise.

Such as your country, which, odd to admit, he hopes that you will always cherish, that you will acknowledge the immeasurable good in the place as well as the stupidities and wrongs. If public indignation over the scandals in Washington proves anything, it is that Americans remain innocent enough to believe in government by laws, and to be angered by deceit in power. He hopes that you retain and nurture that innocence, which is your country's saving grace.

In general, he wishes that you see the world generously, that you take note of and rail against all the Lebanons of violence, the Africas of want, but that you also rear back and bless the whole. This is not as hard to do as it may seem. Concentrate on details, and embrace what you fear. The trick is to love the world as it is, the way a father loves a daughter, helpless and attached as he watches her stretch, bloom, rise past his tutelage to her independent, miraculous ascendancy. But you must never let go entirely, as he will never let you go. You gave birth to each other, and you commence together. Goodbye, my girl. —By Roger Rosenblatt



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ISUZU

DEWAR'S PROFILE:

"MISH" TWORKOWSKI

HOME: New York, N.Y.

AGE: 25

OCCUPATION: Rock & Roll expert and appraiser; Sotheby's.

HOBBY: Designs his own line of jewelry. "I also enjoy working with some metals that aren't heavy."

LAST BOOK READ: *Glitz*, Elmore Leonard.

LATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT: Selling more than \$850,000 worth of golden oldness at a recent Sotheby's auction. Among the items on the block were a fringed vest that belonged to Jimi Hendrix, four gold records, and a genuine Beatles beach bag.

WHY I DO WHAT I DO: "I love it and they actually pay me for it, so why not?"

QUOTE: "A rolling stone gathers much value."

PROFILE: Energetic, witty and very inquisitive. "Mish" is not so much obsessed by the recent past as entertained by it.

HIS SCOTCH: Dewar's® "White Label" and soda. "It makes the idea of selling tickets to a 1966 rock concert a little easier to swallow."

